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ABSTRACT

Provided in this document are the proceedings of a symposium for educators, legislators, and religious leaders who met to share views on racial justice and education. Included are these presentations: (1) Willard A. Genrich, Chancellor of the New York State Board of Regents, proposing a discussion of what the agenda of racial justice in the 1980s ought to be; (2) Dr. Alonzo A. Crim, Superintendant of the Atlanta Public Schools, discussing his city's programs for involving businesses, churches, and other community members in the education process; (3) Bishop Howard J. Hubbard, of Albany, New York, describing the Catholic Church's efforts to increase black enrollment in its schools, and its advocacy against racism in the public forum; (4) H. Carl McCall, Commissioner of New York State Division of Human Rights, citing increased effectiveness of the public school system as a vehicle for the upward mobility of blacks and calling for more public spending to be targeted at black education; (5) Dr. Irving Greenberg, President of the National Jewish Resource Center, examining the role that religion can play in promoting belief that justice can be obtained; (6) Albert Vann, New York State Assemblyman, summarizing legislation that has encouraged equal education and making recommendations for future progress; (7) Eleanor Holmes Norton, Professor of Law at Georgetown Univerisity, criticizing the new Civil Rights Commission and recent trends in public opinion (this speech is excerpted); (8) Reverend W. Franklyn Richardson, pastor of Grace Baptist Church of Mount Vernon, New York, commending the conference speakers and responding to some of their remarks; and, finally, (9) Gordon M. Ambach, Commissioner of Education in New York, asserting the State's responsibility to struggle for equal rights. The proceedings conclude with an outline of small group discussion topics and a list of symposium participants. (KH)

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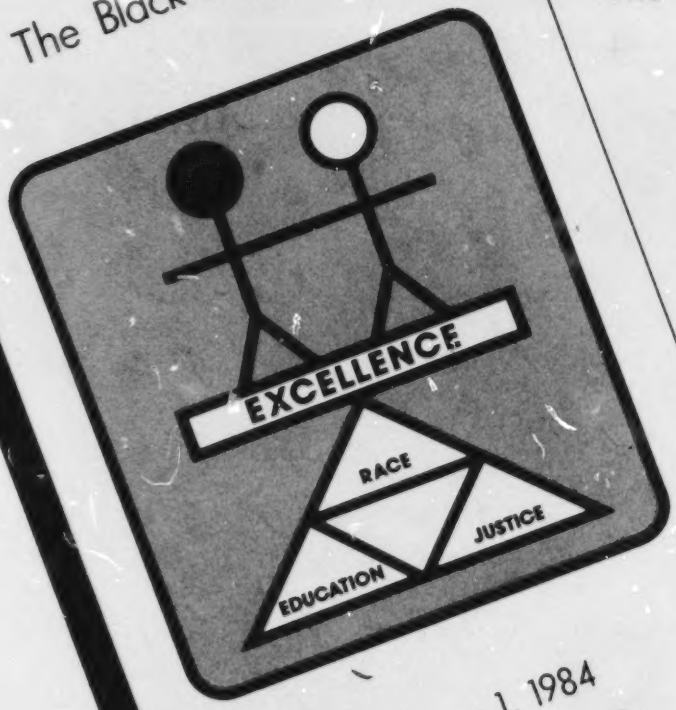
SYMPOSIUM ON RACIAL JUSTICE AND EDUCATION TOWARD EXCELLENCE: EDUCATION, RACE AND JUSTICE

The Black Experience



February 1, 1984
9:30a.m. — 4:30p.m.

Cultural Education Center
The New York State Education Department
Albany, New York

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ON RACIAL JUSTICE AND EDUCATION TOWARD EXCELLENCE: EDUCATION, RACE AND JUSTICE

The Black Experience

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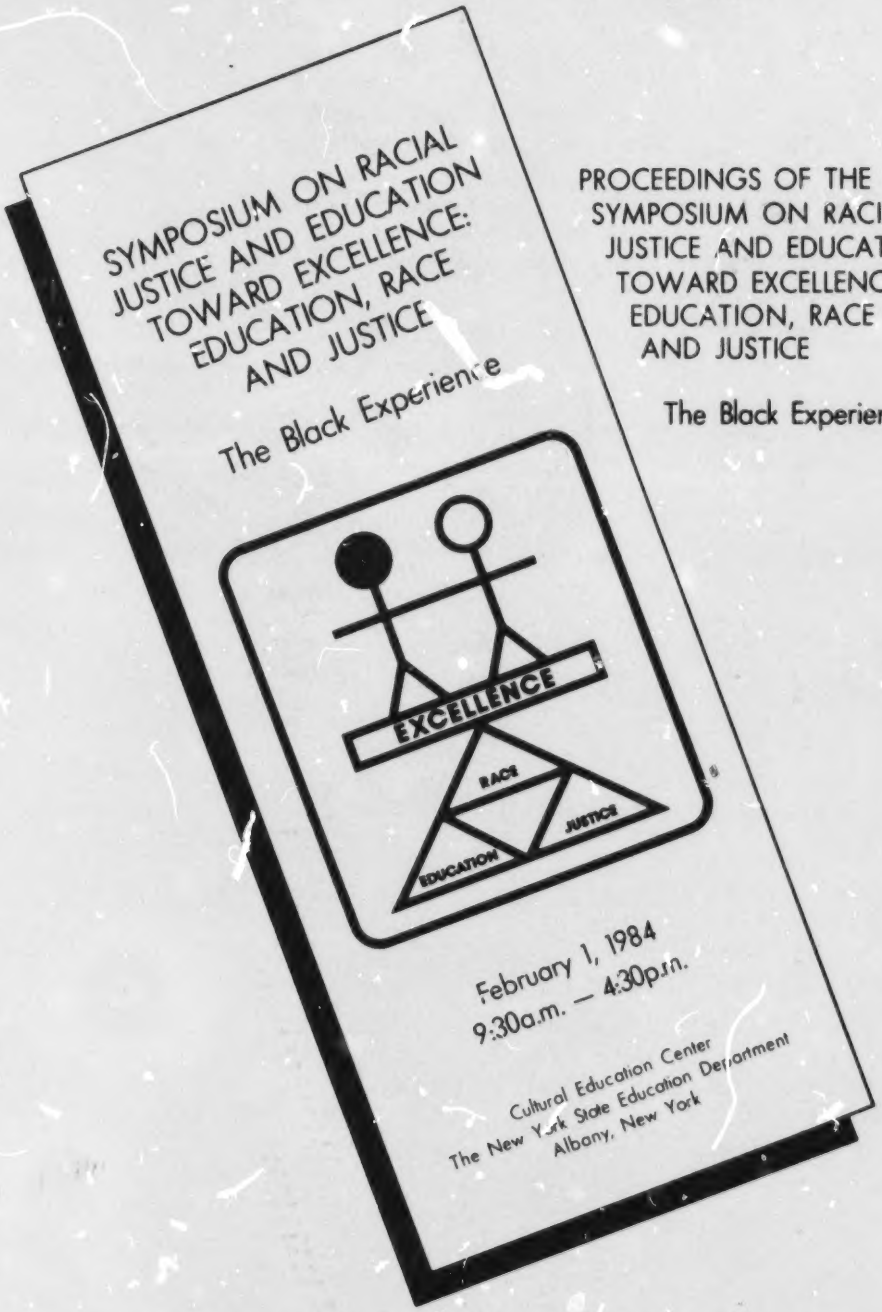

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
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EDUCATION, RACE
AND JUSTICE

The Black Experience

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President of The University and Commissioner of Education
GORDON M. AMBACH

FOREWORD

On February 1, 1984, over 200 people from New York State met to discuss the topic of Racial Justice and Education. The participants, all of whom occupy a position of leadership in their organizations, represented a cross section of society and various educational, governmental, social, business, labor, community and faith institutions.

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Albany, New York 12234

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PURPOSES

The purposes of the Symposium on Racial Justice and Education were:

- To provide a forum for black and white leaders to address the questions and issues of education, race and justice and make commitments to action for racial justice in education and to increase the sensitivity of the participants to the problem.
- To focus statewide attention on education and racial justice.
- To reaffirm strong support for racial justice and to rededicate efforts to achieve racial justice in America and in New York State.
- To share with others various successful efforts at the local level to achieve racial justice.
- To identify new individual and cooperative approaches, through the educational, governmental, business, community and faith institutions, to advance racial justice.

SYMPOSIUM HOSTS

New York State Board of Regents

New York State Education Department

Commissioner's Interfaith Education Advisory Council

SYMPOSIUM PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

The Symposium on Racial Justice and Education was planned and organized by the Commissioner's Interfaith Education Advisory Council and a Symposium Planning Sub-Committee. Members of the Council and Sub-Committee were:

Commissioner's Interfaith Education Advisory Council

Dr. Franklyn S. Barry
Independent Management Consultant

Reverend Howard B. Basler
Catholic Charities

J. Alan Davitt
New York State Catholic Conference

Rabbi Paul L. Hait
The New York Board of Rabbis, Inc.

Joseph W. McTighe
Council of Catholic School Superintendents

Reverend Robert L. Polk
The Council of Churches of the City of New York

Reverend John Provost
St. John the Evangelist

Dr. Gloria Rasberry
Syracuse, New York

Reverend Jon L. Regier
New York State Council of Churches

Rabbi Martin I. Silverman
Temple Beth Emeth

Dr. Alvin I. Schiff
Board of Jewish Education

Symposium Planning Sub-Committee

J. Alan Davitt

Dr. Gloria Rasberry

Herbert A. Johnson
New York Catholic Center

Annette Daum
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Adam Kittrell
New York State Council of Churches

Reverend James A. Rice
Genesee Valley Presbytery

Reverend Jon L. Regier

Rabbi Martin I. Silverman

Sister Mary Clementine Lynch
Diocese of Syracuse

Dr. Lionel McMurren
Community School Board—District #5

Dolores Morgan
Syracuse, New York

Carole Norris
Diocese of Brooklyn

DEDICATION

The Symposium on Racial Justice and Education was dedicated to the work and memory of Mamie Phipps Clark, wife of Regent Kenneth B. Clark and a tireless worker for the cause of racial justice.

Mamie Phipps Clark
1917–1983

Dr. Mamie Phipps Clark was a tireless worker for racial justice all her life. As a scholar, researcher, psychologist, educator, and caring individual, she devoted her life's work to improving the human condition.

The research done by her and her husband, Regent Kenneth Clark, was used extensively by the NAACP in arguments to the U.S. Supreme Court that led thirty years ago to the landmark decision in Brown vs. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas. The ruling found public school segregation is a deprivation of the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

In addition to conducting research, Dr. Mamie Clark established the Northside Child Development Center in Harlem in 1946. The Center began as an agency dealing with the psychological problems of black children in Harlem but expanded to assist black families whose problems, she wrote, were "neither purely psychiatric, purely social, nor purely environmental, but psychosocial." The Center quickly became involved in a dispute with the city's schools, which had incorrectly classified many black students as retarded. By providing independent testing that successfully challenged this practice, the agency became a well-known advocate for black families in education.

Dr. Mamie served as Director of Northside until her retirement in 1980. She also taught at Yeshiva University and helped start a consulting and polling concern called Data Black in 1975. She was the chair of the housing company that built Schomburg Plaza at 110th Street and Fifth Avenue and served on the boards of the American Broadcasting Companies, the Museum of Modern Art, the New York City Public Library, and Teachers College at Columbia University.

Dr. Mamie Clark graduated from Howard University in Washington in 1938, married Dr. Kenneth Clark the same year, and received her Master's Degree from Howard in 1939. The Clarks moved to New York City, where her husband in 1940 and she in 1943 became the first blacks to receive Doctorates in Psychology from Columbia University.

In tribute to her lifelong devotion to the cause of racial justice, her pioneering efforts in the field of human services, and her many contributions to improving the family life of inner-city children, the Symposium sponsors dedicate this Symposium on Racial Justice and Education to the memory, actions, and unfinished work of Dr. Mamie Phipps Clark.

PROGRAM AGENDA

9:30–10:00	Registration	Main Lobby New York State Museum Cultural Education Center
10:00	Greetings and Opening Statement *Willard A. Genrich* *Chancellor of the New York State Board of Regents*	Orientation Theater
10:00–10:45	Keynote Presentation Dr. Alonzo A. Crim *Superintendent Atlanta (GA) Public Schools*	Orientation Theater
10:45–12:00	Comments and Discussion *Dr. Kenneth Clark, Moderator* *New York State Board of Regents* *Most Reverend Howard J. Hubbard* *Bishop of Albany* *H. Carl McCall* *Commissioner, State Division for Human Rights* *Dr. Irving Greenberg* *Director, National Jewish Resource Center* *Albert Vann, Member* *New York State Assembly*	Orientation Theater
12:15–1:00	Lunch	Student Center
1:00–1:30	Afternoon Presentation *Emlyn Griffith, Presiding* *New York State Board of Regents* *Eleanor Holmes Norton* *Professor of Law* *Georgetown University*	Student Center
1:45–3:45	Small Group Discussions	Meeting Rooms
4:00–4:30	Concluding Session *Reverend W. Franklyn Richardson* *General Secretary National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.* *Gordon M. Ambach* *Commissioner of Education*	Orientation Theater
4:30–5:30	Reception	Adirondack Hall

PRESENTATIONS

Following are the presentations of each of the people who spoke at the Symposium on Racial Justice and Education. The materials have been edited for publication and approved by the presenters.

GREETINGS AND OPENING STATEMENT

Willard A. Genrich
Chancellor of the
New York State
Board of Regents

I am sorry that we are a little late in starting, particularly as one of the major proposals of the Board of Regents is to make the school day more efficient and effective. I want to welcome you all here this morning on behalf of the Board of Regents, the Commissioner of Education Gordon Ambach, and members of the Education Department, particularly the Commissioner's Interfaith Education Advisory Council. We meet this morning to discuss extraordinarily important issues, the issues of racial justice and education.

This symposium has been planned by the Commissioner's Interfaith Education Advisory Council and especially by a planning subcommittee drawn from that Council. It is being held because of a very deep concern about the lack of progress in achieving racial justice in our country and because of the belief that a special forum should be established to address this problem.

We come from a great variety of perspectives. As you can see from the list of participants there are representatives from our major religious faiths, government leaders, community leaders, teachers, students, school board members, administrators. This is a first. This is the first time that such a group has been convened. Each of us has a particular concern and also a particular responsibility with respect to the topic and the actions that need to be taken. We come together with the expectation that we not only can but also must find important common goals and grounds for action. Our symposium focuses on elementary and secondary education, on the achievement of racial justice both in and through education. It focuses particularly on the experience of Blacks in the United States. I would like to say that this is a most appropriate time to have a forum such as this. This is a time when the Regents' Action Plan to achieve better results in elementary and secondary education is being formulated. One of the very basic principles of that Action Plan is to bring about greater equity and equality in education. Also, the Regents state aid plan is based upon this same principle.

Today, we discuss what the agenda of racial justice in this decade is to be and how we can address this agenda in and through education. We are most fortunate to have an exceptional group of presenters. We are also fortunate to have a large and broad representation present at the conference. Such representation will be invaluable as we present and discuss our concerns this afternoon in the discussion sessions.

We have deliberately not presented a single position paper or program for review. We expect that, with this group, ideas and plans for action will come from within. We believe that the best way to bring about results is for the solutions to come from within rather than from above.

* * * * * * * * * * *

During the last year we lost one of our most beloved members of the Regents family, Mamie Phipps Clark. Mamie devoted her life to social justice. She had a most special commitment to children. Her work exemplified the quest to achieve racial justice in education. We have, therefore, dedicated this symposium and this entire day to her memory and to our commitment to her unfinished work. Let our love and gratitude for her life guide us in our discussions and our deliberations this day, and let her life inspire us to act and work to bring about social justice in our time.

* * * * * * * * * * *

To begin our symposium presentations we are most fortunate to have a person who is one of this nation's great educational leaders. He has demonstrated his commitment to racial justice in education. As Superintendent of the Atlanta, Georgia, public schools he has worked tirelessly to focus the efforts of the various groups of that city on the improvement of education of all students. It is with great pleasure that I present Alonzo A. Crim, Superintendent of the Atlanta Public Schools.

KEYNOTE PRESENTATION

Dr. Alonzo A. Crim
Superintendent of the
Atlanta (Georgia)
Public Schools

Dr. Alonzo A. Crim, Superintendent, Atlanta (Georgia) Public Schools, for more than ten years.

Born in Chicago, Illinois. Attended Chicago Public Schools, graduating from Crane Technical High School. Received Bachelor of Arts Degree from Roosevelt College in Chicago in 1950, Master of Arts Degree from the University of Chicago in 1956, and Doctorate of Education from Harvard University in 1969. Served in the Chicago Public Schools as elementary school teacher; principal, Whittier Elementary School; principal, Hilliard Adult Education Center; principal, Wendell Phillips High School; and district superintendent. Prior to going to Atlanta, served four years as Superintendent of the Compton Unified School System, Compton, California.

Thank you very much, Chancellor. It is a great honor and a great privilege to be here to present to you this morning. I told Commissioner Ambach how impressed I was that such a distinguished group representing various facets of the total community throughout the State of New York had come together to address an old agenda. Still, it is refreshing to me to address this agenda when I go about the country. Often we talk about excellence, and we so infrequently talk about equity. But first I want to tell you a little story.

> We have Lockheed Aircraft in Marietta, Georgia. There was a test pilot there who had lost a number of planes, and he was talking with a friend. The friend said, "Well, do you read the Koran?" The pilot said, "No." His friend said, "That's okay. All you have to remember is say 'Allah be with me,' if you're in any future difficulty." The pilot said, "Okay, that's easy enough." The next day he was up in one of those hot planes and sure enough the jet engine konked out and he had to eject. When he ejected, he had no parachute. He pulled the backup button -no parachute. He pulled the fail-safe button - no parachute, and there he was plummeting down toward the earth. All of a sudden he remembered to say, "Allah be with me." Then out of the clouds came a huge brown hand that softly cradled him and began slowly lowering him down toward the earth. The fellow looked at this hand incredulously and said, "Jesus Christ!" at which time the hand turned over.

Well, for many of us who are veterans in education, frequently we have seen the pendulum swing both ways. The point of my story is that the pendulum presently seems to be swinging toward a negative perspective of education. But I personally believe that we have never educated so many so well in public education.

Reflecting on my own thirty years in education, I believe that I have thoroughly learned at least two things. Number one is that we never really completely solve human problems: the pendulum swings back and forth. Some of us can remember the good old days when we said we believed in progressive education. Now, our President is talking about discipline and rigidity. I hope that one of these days we will move back toward loosening up and humanism and the individualization of instruction. In terms of our emphasis on education today, in my opinion, we are experiencing a situation in economy and employment that is reminiscent of thirty years ago, when we were confronting Sputnik and the thought of the Russians getting ahead of us. But our charge today is that each of us has to make the condition better, to identify problems, and try to reduce them but with the full realization that we will never solve the problems with finality.

The second learning that I have gained is related to the essence of leadership. It is my opinion that we have to grab hold of a great idea and win the agreement of people around that idea. The great idea that I hope you hold as dear as I do is that all children can learn and that we have the responsibility to see that this happens. We have spent the last 25 years or so in our country trying to make the system inclusive. I made mention in the press conference prior to this session that when I completed elementary school in the City of Chicago many eons ago, only five of us finished high school out of a class of approximately forty. What a tremendous amount of human waste. It is reported that just 25 years ago, one out of every four Blacks finished high school in this country and two out of every four Whites. Right now, something like eight out of every ten Whites complete high school and three out of every four Blacks. Thus, on the whole, we have enfranchised students educationally in our country, but we still have to make education better and more responsive to the needs of children.

I think three major outcomes need addressing for education in this country. The first ought to be in employment. We ought to prepare our young people for the kinds of jobs which exist in our society. Levin, out of Stanford, for instance, said that with all of the hoopla about high technology and with it being the fastest growing area of employment, in terms of absolute numbers those jobs are relatively small. If this is the case, then we have to prepare our young people for employment in technology and in white collar and service jobs.

The second outcome is even more complex. It is the preparation of our young people for citizenship. Certainly, one of the most difficult things for us to learn how to do, perhaps, is to get along with one another. We have to train our young people not just to become citizens of Albany or the State of New York but of the planet Earth. One of the greatest fears of young people today is nuclear holocaust. We must prevent that fear from becoming a reality.

The third and probably the most important outcome is the preparation of our young people for life-long learning. As the old saying goes: when you are green you grown, when you are ripe you are rotten. With the half-life of knowledge now being anywhere from three to four years, how to learn is perhaps most important than what we learn. This is why in the City of Atlanta we have been pursuing the concept of a networking system, and we have named it The Community of Believers. I want to identify three facets of this particular concept now.

First, if our children are to realize the three outcomes which I just mentioned and if we intend to educate all of the children, we adults have to demonstrate our belief in children and not just talk about it. This is why I have such great

admiration for the Interfaith Education Advisory Council. We must not be, as Hugh Scott and I remember one of our friends once being described, a "mouthamatician." We have to demonstrate - give evidence that we believe in children and not just talk about it.

Next, we have to provide opportunities for our students to productively merge into society. This perhaps is the most difficult thing to put together because as we look at it, we are experiencing something of an economic boom in our country; at the same time, we are suffering an eight to ten percent unemployment rate. When we focus on young people, and especially on Black youth, the unemployment rate is something closer to forty percent.

Third, we have to allow young folk to participate in their own education. They are not just consumers of education but producers of education. For that reason we need to look at the kinds of requirements which we establish for them. We cannot just impose regulations on students and expect them to learn. They have to be allowed to reach out and grab their education. It has been said so many times: for real learning to take place, one has to reach out and grab an idea and integrate it with what one already knows. When this happens, real learning takes place. In light of all of this, let me share with you the application of the concept of The Community of Believers in Atlanta and indicate some of the progress that we have enjoyed over the last several years.

In the Atlanta Public Schools, we have a student enrollment of approximately 68,000 plus students. We are ninety percent Black and eighty percent poor (if Chapter I criteria are used). Sixty-nine percent of our students in grades one through eight scored below the national norm in reading in 1980. Eleventh grade students were, on the average, three years behind. My challenge then to our entire Atlanta Public Schools staff was that by 1985, students systemwide would be achieving at the national average. We are very pleased that just this past June (1983) students in grades one through ten were at or above the national average in reading. With the conception of poverty in the City of Atlanta being as I indicated, I think that our city is representative of urban communities throughout the United States.

Therefore, to demonstrate belief in students, one of our responsibilities in Atlanta has been to mobilize the community to coalesce around students. We started with our most critically needed support group - the parents. Our work with the PTA since 1973 has been deliberate, consistent, and has resulted in great rewards. Ken will remember 1973, when we had the desegregation order in the City of Atlanta. One of our responsibilities was to desegregate the two PTAs. We had a Black PTA and we had a White PTA. When we put the two together, we had no PTA. We worked diligently on this through the years. Finally in 1982, our membership increased to 10,000 under the umbrella of The Atlanta Council of PTAs. At the end of the 1983 school year, we gained a total of 18,000. Our goal this year was something like 24,000, and we have surpassed that figure. Ours is the fastest growing PTA in the United States and a lot of folks question that. Nevertheless, the kind of project that we and the PTA are working on currently is for every local unit to develop a written plan to show how parents will reinforce and support their children. It is this kind of functional activity that we are requesting of our PTA - a demonstration of how parents will more effectively support children.

As of July 1983 (and these numbers have increased since that time), we had 86 schools and programs adopted by 147 businesses and higher education institutions. These adoptions grew out of a 1981 town meeting that we convened of approximately 200 chief executive officers to share with them the progress, the aims, and the aspirations of our school system. We asked the officers to engage themselves and their organizations in working with our schools. We did not ask for bucks; instead, we asked for human beings and for the resources available in their businesses. Consequently, that great meeting marked the birth of the Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education, Inc. As a separate incorporated activity, the Partnership has its own director and board of directors. Its membership also includes the president and vice president of the Atlanta Council of PTAs and local school PTA presidents. Currently, the chairman of the Partnership is president of Rich's Department Store - Georgia's largest department store outlet.

Creation of the Partnership was influenced by three factors in 1980. First, with the approval of the Atlanta Board of Education, I announced that on a system-wide basis by 1985, our students in grades 1-12 would score at or above the national norm in reading and mathematics. At the same time, a report from the Economic Development Task Force, established by the Atlanta City Council president, declared that future economic growth of the city depended on the high quality of the city's school system and close cooperation between the system, the business sector, and the higher education community. Finally, the Research Atlanta report, The 80's Decade of Decision, cited education as one of the city's critical issues and further suggested the intermeshing of business and higher education with the school system.

Among its many efforts, the Partnerships distinctively supports these two programs: 1) Adopt-A-School and 2) Affirmative Action Job Placement. An example of just one industry's contributions in ADOPT-A-SCHOOL is the support of the Federal Reserve Bank and seven other major banks at Harper High School. Together, the banks and the system have initiated an intensive program of banking and finance there. This magnet program (one of ten in the system) started with only sixty juniors and sixty seniors. The complete curriculum is composed of all regular, required courses and sixteen courses certified by the banking community as prerequisites for pursuing careers in financial services. From that first class of seniors, 53 of them successfully completed the program last June, and all 53 earned summer employment with the banks, after satisfactorily passing rigorous screening and interviewing sessions by bank supervisors. Eighty percent of them have subsequently gone on to college, but the industry has maintained its pledge that those students going to higher education throughout the state could have part-time jobs at the branch banks in the university and college communities. Every summer, these students will have employment, and those who remain in good academic standing while pursuing banking and finance majors have been assured that there will be a place for them after graduation. This is the kind of demonstration of belief in children that I am soliciting.

On the other hand, the Affirmative Action Job Placement program is in the embryonic stage. Each year we have about 4,000 students to graduate from our system. Of these, 2,000 tend to go on to higher education. The next 1,000 tend to find their own jobs. Then the other 1,000 tend to slip through the cracks and just float around for two, three, or four years before they find permanent work placement. For this targeted 1,000 we have approached an organization called the Merit Employers Association (MEA) in the City of Atlanta. MEA has been working with the school system on motivational activities for some 15 years. We asked the

organization to help us initiate an Adopt-A-Student program wherein a business person would agree to be an advocate to one of the 1,000 starting in the junior year. Our hope is that such a person will "hang with" the student until he or she acquires gainful employment after graduation.

On a personal basis, when most of us intercede for our own children for that first job, we call upon friends and associates to help us. Most of the students I am talking about do not have that kind of adult advocacy. As a result, this program is designed to provide a person from the business community to relate to that student, to intercede, advise, to keep the student believing in himself or herself, and to come to the school if problems are perceived that we have not effectively addressed. The program is active in four of our 22 high schools, and we think it is most promising. Our goal is to acquire a personal advocate for each of the 1,000.

Again, just to reiterate the aim of The Community of Believers, we want to establish a network of believers surrounding every student so that whenever the temptation to quit is great, there is always someone to say, "No, I will help you keep going." But, there are responsibilities. The student must believe that he or she is capable, that there is a reward for persevering, and that the believers care. Educators and parents must believe the same as the students. The community-at-large must believe that each student is a valuable person fully capable of learning and that our system of education, when operating at reasonable effectiveness, can teach the students.

I want to say here that the economic future of our nation is dependent upon the educational level of the masses. Ultimately then, everyone has a vested interest. Think about that a minute. Some of Mike Timpane's statistics reveal that just a few years ago, we had ten persons in the community who were working and who were supporting all of the social welfare issues, such as Social Security, health services and so on. By 1990, there will only be two such people, and 1990 is when I will need these services. So then, this cohort of students that we have now should be the best educated group we can possibly produce.

The involvement of higher education in the Atlanta Public Schools is twofold, one phase of which is through the Partnership. For a number of years though, we have been meeting with the deans of universities, colleges, and other educational institutions in our community. We call this the Superintendent/Deans' Breakfast Club. Once a month, we have breakfast to talk about our respective institutions and how we can assist one another. We talk about more than bucks; we talk about how we can exchange human services. Through the years, many things have happened. We have had principals and teachers teach higher education courses; conversely, we have had higher education staff come to work directly in the schools. We have developed a program at one high school where higher education staffs have actually instituted a project related to teenage pregnancy. We have higher education people coming in and working on projects related to technology. At this point, the presidents of 20 colleges and universities have committed their institutions to adopting schools.

Our challenge to high school principals today is to increase college admissions by five percent annually without special accommodations. If remediation is necessary, it will take place in the K-12 program rather in the higher education institution. It is the principals' responsibility to work to produce that kind of conduit. I think all of us recognize that our children need more and more education rather than less and less. Certainly, improving the percentage of youngsters going

on to college will greatly enhance the life opportunities of these students. Some of the kinds of programs of the various institutions working with us include: PTA, in terms of overall student advocacy and producing volunteers; the Adopt-A-School and Affirmative Action Job Placement programs; advisement and tutorial services. If you want to develop some advocates for your school system, have some of your top business persons go in and tutor a youngster. One gentleman, Larry Gellerstadt, is president of one of the major construction firms in the city as well as one of the movers and shakers of our city. Twice weekly he comes in and tutors a youngster. He gives two hours, and to have a person of this position relative to decision-making in the city speaking on behalf of the public schools goes a very long way. We have attempted to effect this same kind of relationship throughout our overall community.

The colleges and universities assist us in discussing issues, in conducting staff in-service activities and in helping us to think through our problems. They help us to look at research activities and to have the research come to bear upon our mutual concerns and student programs. Just last week, Georgia State University (which is working with us and has adopted several schools) identified six new scholarships - full scholarships - which they plan to award to Atlanta Public Schools students. This has come about through our association with the institution on a regular basis.

This school year, we have added a new component which reiterates our commitment to the Adopt-A-School and Affirmative Action Job Placement programs. We are developing a Distinguished Scholars program. Eminent scholars are invited to appear in a lecture series in the system and to work primarily with school administrators, helping them to work productively with the larger community. In addition, the Administrative University has been developed for administrators. But schools must be receptive to this external support. It is one thing to make the contract, but it is another thing to use the support in a positive way. We are concerned, moreover, about how to institutionalize the ideas that we have found useful over the past few years.

Getting the overall community to work with us in terms of technology is a second new component we are developing. Just as in many other instances, when we create newlife opportunities for students, the poor and minorities are usually left out of those new developments. Technology is one of three new developments, and it is forging ahead in almost an uncontrolled manner, if we look at what is happening with computers and automation and cybernation. We are attempting to tie four of our magnet programs to technology or institutions which are engaged in technology in the city and the state. At Douglass High School, we offer the specialty of Applied Technology. The business firm of Lanier Incorporated and Georgia Southern, a technical institution for the training of engineers, are the two outside supporters of this magnet. I hope we are developing a conduit. Douglass students not only will learn subjects which are required at the secondary level, but also will be fully advised as to what will be required at the higher education level. They also will have the assistance of business and industry in focusing on what is the current state of the art. The coordinator of this program must make the connections among higher education, government and business and must move the school system into the 21st century in this regard.

In addition, the Governor's Consortium in Georgia is intending to bring technology to the state. I am confident that New York has something very similar, and we in Atlanta do not wish to be left out of the movement. The Governor has

identified $30,000,000 and our system wants a piece of that action as it relates to technology. Another technological thrust is that we are one of the two school systems throughout the country (the other is Washington, D.C.) which is tied into a relatively new program, the National University School of the Air. This is low wattage television by satellite which we hope will be able to deliver new means of instruction. Just think about mathematics, for instance. For the forseeable future we will not be able to secure the kind of mathematics teachers that we desire. Perhaps we can use technology and the very best people at the university level to introduce the concept and then teach our folks at the local level to reinforce those concepts. That is one possibility we are exploring. We have tried to identify all the folk in our school system and in the community who are committed to or involved in technology. We have asked them to serve on a permanent commission that will show us how to bring technology to the overall community.

Still another partnership exists between the school system and the religious community. It includes the Metro Atlanta Christian Council, the Joint Urban Ministries, the Ecumenical Community Ministries, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and individual congregations which have adopted schools. Through these adoptions, these institutions provide tutoring and counseling to students. We have attempted to put together clusters of churches in terms of these adoptions. Our city has approximately 1,000 churches, mosques and synagogues - half of which are Black and the other half are White. Therefore, we have aimed at pairing two predominantly Black churches with two predominately White ones. The pairing is having a remarkable spill-off. These congregations are working together with children in a particular community not only during the regular school year, but during the summer months and vacation periods as well. It has had an amazing impact on all activities in the school system.

To give an idea of how some churches work with our schools, I will describe one adoption. Cook Elementary School is a few blocks away from our office in Capitol City Homes housing project. There are four major churches in the area which almost on a daily basis will have anywhere from 30 to 40 church members in the school ready and prepared to give tutorial assistance. You can just imagine what has happened to the test scores in that particular school with children having that kind of demonstration of belief in them in addition to that kind of one-to-one service. After awhile the volunteers fall in love with the students. What we now have in that school are all kinds of resources such as closed-circuit television with little fifth graders operating video equipment.

In terms of volunteers, we further enjoy a combination of the religious community and the overall community. We have very actively solicited volunteers coming into our schools working on a one-to-one basis with our students. As of July last year, we were able to report on a regular support of about 9,000 adult volunteers, including 1,000 tutors focusing primarily on grades four, five and six. In the religious community, there are presently 90 churches, mosques, and synagogues working primarily in the public housing communities where they provide tutoring, clothing banks for students, food cooperatives and the like. This number is growing, and the services have been just a tremendous resource in our total community. Volunteerism has been an area in which we have gone to various parishioners to solicit their support. The religious partnership has worked in concert with the school system's Volunteer Services Program while still focusing on community needs.

So then, in review, I see The Community of Believers demonstrating a belief in students. I see this special community providing opportunities for students to smoothly make the transition from the classroom to higher educational challenges, to well-planned careers, to good jobs. The third facet, of this community concept is student responsibility.

We, like many other school systems throughout the country, are exploring the idea that students must contribute to the community. In Atlanta, we are making it a graduation requirement that students give at least 100 volunteer hours to community services. This experience will require that students give of themselves rather than just take for themselves. Those of you who have looked at Mortimer Adler's concepts know that rather than always being talked at, students should be involved. We are exploring instructional strategies that promote greater involvement of students in their own education and more life opportunities at higher education institutions, including greater admissions for students. Furthermore, our efforts will continue in assisting the general community in developing a full employment attitude for students. As for the adult community, we will never catch up with that degree of unemployment. Our own Mayor will quickly admit this. Fortunately, the Atlanta Public Schools' annual output of 4,000 students is a workable figure. This is why we are trying to change attitudes so that this number of students can be absorbed.

I am ending as I began, with a story that I think relates very well to this particular occasion:

> Gordon prayed on a regular basis to his Maker that he would be able to see the after-life before actually expiring (Gordon, being with the Board of Regents, you can understand that). The Angel Gabriel descended one day and said, "Gordon, I'm going to grant your wish, so where would you like to go, to Heaven or to Hell first." Being the man that he is, Gordon said, "Let us go to Hell first." Then they descended to Hell. Upon arriving, they saw a great number of folk around a huge table laden with marvelous foods, but the people were all in anguish because they each had one hand tied behind them and in the other hand they had a two-foot spoon. Now they could reach the food, but try as they may, they could not put food into their mouths. So they were just in terrible anguish. Gordon said, "I can't stand this," so he and Gabriel ascended to Heaven. Upon arriving in Heaven, they saw the very same thing: a huge table, marvelous foods, each person with one hand tied behind him, the other hand with a two-foot spoon. But those people were all smiling. The reason was that each was feeding the other.

I submit to you, that we in the adult community the nation over, must feed the young people of our community. Thank you.

TRANSITION BETWEEN KEYNOTE PRESENTATION AND MORNING PRESENTATIONS

Willard A. Genrich
Chancellor of the
New York State
Board of Regents

Dr. Crim, you have not only given us a very inspiring presentation on The Community of Believers but also I believe you have given us concrete, specific, practical, and workable programs that I hope we can put into effect in our State to help bring about racial justice in education.

Now, we are about to begin our additional morning discussions. I would like to ask the presenters and our moderator to come up. As they come up the rest of you may stretch and relax but please do not leave.

MORNING PRESENTER

Most Reverend
Howard J. Hubbard
Bishop of Albany

Ninth Bishop of Albany, appointed February 1, 1977.

Founded Providence House, inner-city social action center; President of Hope House, facility for treatment of drug and alcohol abuse for young adults; Chairman, New York State Catholic Conference Public Policy Committee; Member, National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) Administrative Board; Chairman NCCB Human Values Committee; Member, NCCB National Pastoral Planning Commission; Chairman, United States Catholic Conference Commission on Marriage and Family Life. Recipient of Citizen Laureate Award from University Foundation at Albany. Honorary degrees: Doctor of Divinity, Siena College; Doctor of Humane Letters, College of St. Rose.

Thank you Dr. Clark, Chancellor Genrich, Members of the Board of Regents, Commissioner Ambach, my fellow clergy, ladies and gentlemen. I am indeed honored and privileged to be able to participate in this panel. Standing here before you, however, I feel very much like the old rooster who, when the other roosters would rise in the morning to crow at the coming up of the sun, would just remain at his nest and simply nod. I feel that that should be my response to the wonderful presentation that we have heard here today from Dr. Crim, to nod in affirmation of the wonderful things that are being done in Atlanta and to get about the task of doing the same things here in New York State. However, if I and my fellow panelists here today were to nod simply we would have an hour of dead time on our hands and, being the workaholics that some of us are, I do not know if we could cope with the withdrawal syndrome. So, I will proceed with my presentation.

At the outset of this panel presentation may I take this opportunity on behalf of my fellow panelists to commend the Board of Regents and Commissioner Ambach for sponsoring this symposium on so important a topic as racial justice and education. For if the evil of racial injustice is ever to be eradicated, it will only be through the proper teaching of what is right and true. It is, I believe, a tribute to their leadership, foresight, and indeed courage to bring into open discussion the issue of racial justice in our society. This prejudice may no longer sweep through this land like a blazing forest fire. Yet I feel that deep beneath the surface of our everyday lives racial bias continues to burn unseen, seemingly unquenchable, and threatening to swallow us up. For it surfaces in housing, in employment, in family life, in health care, in government, and sad to say, even in some of our schools and churches.

I am, therefore, most pleased to be able to participate in this program as a religious representative, particularly one of the Roman Catholic Church. This brief presentation provides me with a unique opportunity to reaffirm our Church's commitment to racial justice through our educational mission.

One of the instrumentalities which the Bishops of the United States often use to speak out on issues of importance is that of a pastoral letter. Such was our recent statement on peace. The American Bishops have often spoken out on racial justice, as in their statement of 1958 on "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience"; again in 1968 with the "National Race Crisis"; and in November 1979 in their pastoral letter on racism, "Brothers and Sisters to Us." To underscore the commitment of the Church as well as the importance of this Conference, I hope you will indulge me by allowing me to read a few excerpts from this pastoral letter, because I think it is particularly pertinent to the topic at hand today:

... "Racism is an evil which endures in our society and in our Church. Despite advances and even significant changes in the last two decades, the reality of racism remains. In large part it is only the external appearances which have changed."

... "We recognize and applaud the readiness of many Americans to make new strides forward in reducing and eliminating prejudice against minorities. We are convinced that the majority of Americans realize that racial discrimination is both unjust and unworthy of this nation."

... "We do not deny that changes have been made, that laws have been passed, that policies have been implemented. We do not deny that the ugly external features of racism which marred our society have in part been eliminated, but neither can it be denied that too often what has happened has only been a covering over, not a fundamental change."

... "Crude and blatant expressions of racist sentiment, though they occasionally exist, are today considered bad form. Yet racism itself persists in covert ways. Under the guise of other motives, it is manifest in the tendency to stereotype and marginalize whole segments of the population whose presence is perceived as a threat. It is manifest also in the indifference that replaces open hatred. The minority poor are seen as the dross of a post-industrial society -- without skills, without motivation, without incentive. They are expendable. Many times the new face of racism is the computer print-out, the graph of profits and losses, the pink slip, the nameless statistic. Today's racism flourishes in the triumph of private concern over public responsibility, individual success over social commitment, and personal fulfillment over authentic compassion."

The issuance of statements such as I have just cited from our pastoral letter may be seen by some as words, words which must to be tested by consequent actions. The Catholic Church indeed still has a great way to go in fulfilling the challenging responsibilities to which the pastoral letter on racism has called us.

As a matter of fact, this 1979 statement on racism has not received the attention it so urgently deserves among our Catholic community, the type of attention and systematic follow-up that our recent pastoral letter on issues of war and peace is receiving.

However, despite inadequacies in this regard, I think it can be fairly stated that in recent years there has been an increasing tempo in the Church efforts in regard to racial justice.

Along with a growing number of Black Bishops in leadership positions within our Church, more and more dioceses are opening special offices committed to Black Catholic ministry. The enrollment of Black children in our elementary and secondary schools has more than doubled in recent years. Significant numbers of our suburban school enrollments are Black and non-Catholic. Black studies are on the increase in our curricula. Liturgies reflecting Black culture are no longer a curiosity. Issues within the Church which are of special concern to Blacks, such as vocations and decision-making processes, are more and more on the agendas of a broad range of Church organizations. In particular, seminary education is striving to include an awareness of the history and the contributions of minorities as well as an appreciation of the enrichment of the liturgical expression which can be found in their respective cultures.

Beyond its own structures and programs the Church has significantly increased its advocacy role in the public forum. Here in New York State our own Catholic Conference has identified among its legislative priorities many objectives which are of particular interest to the Black community: employment, youth, housing, criminal justice, adolescent pregnancy, health services, and economic security. Toward those ends we find a growing involvement of Church representatives with and in Black-related organizations. In addition, Black-sponsored projects are given financial assistance both locally and nationally through our campaign for human development, a self-help program designed to address the structural causes of poverty and racism. Since 1970 in excess of 115 million dollars has been collected and distributed through this campaign; a large share of these funds is allocated to programs operated by and benefiting racial and minority groups.

The concern of the Church for education is not concentrated on its own children in our elementary and secondary schools. Rather, it is also concentrated on looking at the entire educational system within our society. More and more the Church has spoken out in protection and support of public education. It has become a consistent practice among dioceses to prohibit acceptance of transfer students seeking to avoid court-ordered or school programs of integration. Church advocates have spoken out quite clearly in defense of the fiscal needs of urban districts where minority enrollments are always high. Our educational representatives in cooperation with their State Education Departments have consistently campaigned to protect federal programs serving our disadvantaged pupils.

In the field of criminal justice where racism is apparent in the disproportionate number of minorities who populate our jails and prisons and who have unequal access to legal assistance and release mechanisms, the Church has been advocating strongly for criminal justice reform with great emphasis on alternatives to incarceration, non-money bail and other pre-sentence release options which would benefit the poor, and adamant opposition to the death penalty which is leveled disproportionately against minority persons.

Also, over the past three years, in coalition with other faith denominations, especially the New York State Council of Churches and the New York State Board of Rabbis, we have been seeking to stand up for the rights of disadvantaged New Yorkers and against all political odds we have been successful in bringing about the welfare grant increase and an increase in the basic shelter allowance.

It is, therefore, with some sense of pride that I see the Church starting to overcome its own past failings, moving ahead with a great sensitivity and commitment to racial justice. But more is needed. That, I suppose, is what this symposium today is all about. May I share with you some thoughts on those needs.

There is need for us individually and as a society to recognize racial injustice for the evil that it is. Again I quote from our pastoral letter: "Racism is not merely one sin among many, it is a radical evil dividing the human family .... To struggle against it demands an equally radical transformation in our minds and hearts as well as in the structure of our society."

There is a need for us to develop a personal sense of responsibility for this evil. There can be no motivation to bring about change unless there is a perception that I am to blame if I do nothing. The Bishops have stated thusly:

> "The structures of our society are subtly racist, for these structures reflect the values which society upholds. They are geared to the success of the majority and the failure of the minority; and members of both groups give unwitting approval by accepting things as they are. Perhaps no single individual is to blame. The sinfulness is often anonymous, but nonetheless real. The sin is social in nature in that each of us, in varying degrees, is responsible. All of us in some measure are accomplices. As our recent pastoral letter on moral values states: 'The absence of personal fault or evil does not absolve one of all responsibility. We must resist and undo injustices we have not caused, lest we become bystanders who tacitly endorse evil and so share in guilt for it'."

Nowhere is this social sin of racism more evident than in our economic system. Our economic structures are undergoing fundamental changes which are intensifying social inequalities in our nation. We have embarked upon a new era characterized by limited resources, restricted job markets, and diminishing revenues. In this atmosphere the poor and racial minorities are being asked to bear the heaviest burden of these new economic pressures.

In our pastoral letter we state:

> "This new economic crisis reveals an unresolved racism that permeates our society's structures and resides in the hearts of many among the majority. Because it is blatant, this subtle form of racism is in some respects even more dangerous - harder to combat and easier to ignore. Major segments of the population are being pushed to the margins of society in our nation. As economic pressures tighten, those people who are often Black, Hispanic, Native American and Asian - and always poor - slip further into the unending cycle of poverty, deprivation, ignorance, disease and crime. Racial identity is for them an iron curtain barring the way to a decent life and livelihood. The economic pressures exacerbate racism, particularly where poor white people are competing with minorities for limited job opportunities."

Furthermore, recent governmental budgetary cutbacks and tax policies at the federal level constitute the most dramatic shift in social policy in one of the largest redistributions of wealth and income in the history of our United States. This governmental shift of resources from the poor and middle class to the wealthy is almost unprecedented in its scope and in the severity of its impact. It represents, I believe, a substantial retreat from our national commitment to a

more just and equitable society and to an adequate standard of living for all of our citizens. It reverts to the so-called "Puritan ethic" which tends to look upon the poor and disadvantaged rather punitively, as victims of divine disfavor or as perpetrators in their own unhappy situation.

In this changing milieu, then, the churches, the synagogues, and the mosques must be advocates for the poor and racial minorities. We cannot allow the vision of some future utopia where the basic needs of all are going to be met to overshadow our present responsibilities to the poor and oppressed. Neither can we allow trillions of dollars to be expended in the defense budget when there are millions of destitute people both at home and abroad who are ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed.

Hopefully a reflection upon the life and vision of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which the recently-approved designation of his birthday as a national holiday should encourage, will challenge us to address these social-economic inequities.

Also, there is a need for us not simply to understand differences in our society, but actually to cherish diversity. This is an essential call for us as people of faith. Indeed we believe that in the Lord "There is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female; for all are one. . . ."

When we give in to our fears of the other because he or she is of a race different than ourselves, when we prejudice the motives of others precisely because they are of a different culture, when we stereotype or ridicule the other because of racial characteristics and heritage, we fail to heed the plea of the Prophet Amos: "Seek good and not evil, that you may live, then truly will the Lord. . .be with you as you claim!. . .Then let justice surge like water, and goodness like an unfailing stream." There is need for us, therefore, to return to fundamental teachings: "Love one another as I have loved you." "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." "As often as you did it for one of these the least of my brothers, you did it for me."

Finally, there is need for us to learn how racial injustice occurs within ourselves, so often in the most subtle of ways. How often we may accept racial jokes, tokenism, policies inherently oppressive in our business and work, acceptance of social racism to avoid loss of status or friendship. For religious persons there is seldom much difficulty to opposing the stark and offensive incidents of racism which outrage society. But when it is within us, the now famous phrase of "We shall overcome" can be for us a very hard saying.

Today, then, the challenge to our educational institutions is to respond to those needs. To see racial injustice as a radical evil in society. To assume a personal responsibility for change. To understand the beauty and strength of the unity of men and women in their differences. To see how it must begin within ourselves. It is our challenge, yours and mine today, as individuals and together, to help our schools, their staffs, and students change those very words of "racial justice" from ones that smack of deprivation and oppression to those that will ring with equity, freedom, justice , and love.

Thank you for your kind attention.

MORNING PRESENTER

H. Carl McCall
Commissioner of New York State Division of Human Rights

Appointed Commissioner of the New York State Division of Human Rights in February 1983 by Governor Mario Cuomo.

Educated in the public schools in Boston, Massachusetts. Graduated from Dartmouth College, University of Edinburgh, and the Andover-Newton Theological Seminary. Served in government as a New York State Senator and Ambassador to the United Nations during the Carter Administration. Is an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ and serves as an Honorary Canon in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City.

I am not an educator, and I guess I am here today because of the long romance that I have had with the public school system. Al, you know what a romance is like, it runs hot and cold, and that is the way my romance has been. I started out with a feeling of great passion for and dedication to the public school system when I was a student. In fact, Cliff, (Wharton, Chancellor of the State University of New York) I started elementary school in a school across the street from your house. Perhaps, since your two brothers were there with me, your family had an influence on that school. Maybe that is why we all did so well. But the fact is that in those public schools in Roxbury I got what I think was a very productive and effective education. It gave me an opportunity to go away to college. When I returned from college, I came back to Boston and Roxbury, because I wanted to teach, I wanted to give something back to that system. That is when the romance started to cool.

I remember the first day somebody made an appointment for me to go and see the woman responsible for all recruitment and placement in the public schools of Boston. Her name was Miss Sullivan. Josh, (Smith, President of Manhattan Community College) who came from Roxbury, too, will remember that your name had to be Sullivan to have that kind of position in Boston in those days.

I went to see Miss Sullivan to apply for a position in the Boston Public School System. I went in and presented myself and told her my name was Carl McCall, and I wanted to teach. I was prepared for a very rigorous examination of my credentials. Instead, what I got was a shout from Miss Sullivan as she jumped out of her seat and said, "You're just what we need for Jamaica Plain High School -- you're big and you can keep order." An hour later, I was in Jamaica Plain High School, teaching English, history, and something called commercial geography.

The attitude from Miss Sullivan and others -- you all know, of course, that the student population at Jamaica Plain High School was predominantly Black -- was that all they needed was someone who could go there and keep order. That was the beginning of my disaffection. But, as a true romantic, there remains in me

this sense that the passion should be revived. Once again, I would like us to have the faith in the public school system that we can once more develop the kind of relationship we had in the beginning.

It was easier at an earlier time to understand what was happening in public education and what our position ought to be. In the early '60s when there were advocates for the public schools there was a consensus. The clarity of the issue was symbolized by the slogan: quality education through integration. Unfortunately, the issue is not so clear now. The changing demographics defused the racial balance of the integration issues. In New York City, for example, (and certainly in Atlanta), where three-fourths of the public school students are Black, or Hispanic, it is not possible to achieve racial balance.

It is true that today there are differing opinions about what the goals and strategy in public education ought to be. An example of the differing opinions about educational goals was seen in the different reaction to the adoption of Rule 48 by the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Rule 48 stipulates that, beginning in 1986, freshman athletes must have received a minimum score of 700 out of a possible 1600 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test or a score of 15 out of a possible 36 on the American College Test and must have received a C average in 11 designated high school courses including English, mathematics, social sciences and physical sciences. There was an outcry of protest to Rule 48 from the nation's leading Black college presidents, educators and civil rights leaders. They insisted that the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the American College Test were racist diagnostic tests and that a mandatory score of 700 on the SAT or 15 on the ACT unfairly penalized and discriminated against Black athletes since 55% of Black students generally score lower than 700 on the SAT and 69% lower than 15 on the ACT.

On the other hand, there are nationally respected Black educators who insist on standards of excellence for Black students. Dr. Bernard C. Watson, now President of the William Penn Foundation and formerly a Vice President at Temple University, has written that:

> "We seem to have forgotten that excellence is a part of our history and our heritage. Our youth are capable of excellence, and excellence should be held up to them as the only reasonable standard worthy of pursuit. It was not too long ago that every Black American knew that excellence was the path to opportunity, that Black Americans had to be better than their White counterparts to have even a reasonable opportunity for employment, for entrance to graduate or professional schools."

Dr. Harry Edwards, Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley and a leading voice in the empowerment struggles of the '60s, has written in support of the NCAA academic requirement. He says:

> "Were I not to support Rule 48, I would risk communicating to Black youth in particular that I, a nationally known Black educator, do not believe that they have the capacity to achieve a 700 score on the SAT with three years to prepare for the test, when they are given a total of 400 points simply for answering a single question in each of the two sections of the test, and when they have a significant chance of scoring 460 by purely random marking of the test. I support the NCAA action,

because I believe that Black parents, Black educators, and the Black community must insist that Black children be taught and that they learn whatever subject matter is necessary to excel on diagnostic and other skill tests."

Clearly we are seeing contradictory points of view regarding standards of excellence and evaluation of minority students. What is needed at the present time, I believe, is a clarifying of goals in the Black community and a unified consensus toward which we will all move in the future. I believe that the goal should be a balance of excellence and equity, a goal which requires an assurance of accountability. We have to recognize what is at stake for the Black community in terms of the performance of the public school system.

Demographically, urban schools in particular are going to consist more and more of minority students. Ernest Boyer points out that in 1981 only 52% of all White families had school-age children under 18 years of age. In contrast, 71% of all Black and 75% of all Hispanic households had children in this category. Mr. Boyer warns of a decline in White commitment to public education as their proportion of school-age children diminishes. Therefore, as the White community loses its interest in the public school system, we have to increase our interest. What we have at stake is the institution where our children are going to be. He says further, that "Black and Hispanic young people are precisely those with whom our schools have been least successful. Opportunity remains unequal. This failure to educate every young person to his or her full potential threatens the nation's social and economic health." New York City's dropout statistics both heighten and document Mr. Boyer's concern. While the official high school dropout rate is given as 45%, another study finds the rate to be much higher. According to this study's figures, the dropout rates from the ninth to twelfth grades are 80% for Hispanics, 72% for Blacks and 50% for Whites. For each group, the dropout rate in New York City is more than double the rate in upstate New York.

The overall unemployment rate in New York City for dropouts between the ages of 16 and 21 rose from 53% in 1970 to 73% in 1980. Those figures are worse now due to the so-called economic recovery proclaimed by President Reagan.

Accountability for the school system must be demanded in terms of providing excellence and equity by parents, by community leaders, by religious leaders, by the public officials and, yes, by students themselves, because everyone has a concern for the lives and futures of our youth and for the future health of our City, State, and nation. Now I believe that, as bad as the situation has been, there are signs of hope. One of the things that I see as a positive sign of hope and reform in the future is the improved political situation and the Black political empowerment that is coming about in the Black community thanks to people like Arthur Eve and Albert Vann and others.

When Blacks had no political power, the problem of education was not being addressed. The fact that Blacks are now gaining political power means they have the possibility of bringing about change in the school system provided a relationship and a communication exist between Black educators and Black political figures so that there can be an educational goal and strategy that can have the support of the new Black political power and movement. Without that unified strategy and goals being expressed by the Black community and its educators, the Black political power will be of no value if it is not used to support those particular goals. I sense an emergence of some goals from the Black community related to what we would like to see in terms of the educational system and the changes that are needed.

I would like to close by briefly summarizing three things. First, public education must be the focus of our efforts to change our schools. There is certainly a greater use of the parochial schools by minorities. More minority institutions like churches are starting private schools, because they want alternatives. The fact is that most of our children will end up in the public schools and even if public education has given up on our kids, we cannot give up on public education. That is where we must invest our energy, our time, our resources and our commitment. We have seen that public schools have been able to do the job. In 1960 fewer than 50% of all Blacks graduated from public schools. At the present time, public schools graduate three-fourths of students from the Black community. So despite its problems, the public school system has been effective as a vehicle for upward mobility of Blacks.

The second thing that we have to say and ask from the public school system is that resources allocated for education must be used and targeted to affect a Black school performance strategy. We always ask for more money. They always ask for more money. When Gordon asks for more money, if anybody else asks for more money, we support that. Now, we have to begin to ask about what is going to be done with the money. What are the goals? And, particularly, we have to get commitment that the new funds are targeted for those particular problems that we have identified in the school system.

If the problem is the dropout rate, we want to see money directed to strategies to deal with the dropout rate. If the problem is reading scores, then we want to see the money directed to new programs to deal with teaching basic skills and lifting the reading scores. We want to see some relationships between demands for new money and the concerns that we have about the specific failures in the public school system. The other thing that we need to see in terms of the additional money is that it is directed toward providing more representation of minorities and Blacks in policy positions in the school hierarchy. We are delighted that Gordon pulled us together, but we want to see more representation in Gordon's office in the Department of Education in Albany. We should not have had to go through what we went through in New York City to get a minority Chancellor. There should be an understanding that it is about time, with the many qualified people we have that we ought to be able to provide the leadership to that system. Across the board we have to see more minorities represented in policy positions.

The third point that I would make in terms of our goals for the public school system is that there must be more realistic preparation for meeting the demands of the world of work. We heard some of this from our brother from Atlanta about how we need to relate to the high tech jobs and prepare our young people to take advantage of those high tech jobs. Our Governor, too, has made a commitment to bring high tech industry into the State. I hope he is talking to Gordon and others so, as we prepare to bring in high tech jobs, we develop high tech skills particularly among our minority youth. There have to be linkages between the school system and the business community, and we understand now where the jobs are. McDonald's hires more people than U.S. Steel, but it is not a goal for us to make sure all our kids can work at McDonald's. We have to make sure that the high tech jobs and the jobs that demand greatest skills are also available. There is a further issue here. We have to understand as we prepare our kids how standards of excellence are mocked when excellent achievement by Blacks receives less rewards than lesser achievement by Whites. In 1980, for example, the median income for Black males who had completed four years of college was $2,000 less than the median income of White males who had only completed high school. The median income

for Black male college graduates was only 12% higher than the median income of Black males who had finished only high school. White male college graduates had an income 24% higher than White male high school graduates. If standards of excellence are equally demanded, they must also be equally rewarded. As is so often the case, the Black scholar and intellectual W. E. B. DuBois provides the final word on what education is all about and must be. He said,

> "Our educational institutions must graduate to the world, men and women fitted to take their place in the real life by the knowledge, spirit and ability to do what the world wants done. This vocational guidance must have for its object the training of men and women who can think clearly and function normally as physical beings who have knowledge of what human life on earth has been and what it is now, and a knowledge of the constitution of the known universe. All that, and in addition to that, a training that will enable the production of goods and the furnishing of human services and in the democratic distribution of income so as to build civilization, encourage initiative, reward effort and support life."

Dr. DuBois was not making a case just for better education for Blacks but rather for full mainstream participation and full development of educational potential for all Americans. Thank you.

MORNING PRESENTER

Dr. Irving Greenberg
President, National
Jewish Resource Center

Graduated from Brooklyn College in 1953, ordained at Beth Joseph Rabbinical Seminary in 1953. Received Master's Degree in 1954 and Doctor of Philosophy Degree in 1960 from Harvard University. Recognized scholar in the field of Holocaust studies. Served as Director, President's Commission on the Holocaust; Associate Professor, Yeshiva University; Rabbi, Riverdale Jewish Center. Founded Department of Jewish Studies, City College, CUNY. Instrumental in the pioneering of numerous organizations in American Jewish life including Yavneh, National Religious Students Association; Center for Russian Jewry; SAR Academy; Association for Jewish Studies.

By now, no one--at least, no one invited by the New York State Regents--invited to participate in a symposium on racial justice and education would advocate perpetuation of racial injustice. Then the real danger is that such a symposium not degenerate into an exchange of good will or platitudes. To avoid this danger, I set a simple task for this paper: to explore what can religion contribute to advance a cause which is not openly opposed yet which confronts great obstacles to its realization.

The first contribution religion can make, at a time of waning of confidence, is a belief that it can be done. At a time when various views seem to deny the very claim and need; when there are voices saying that the government should help less and less; when divisiveness, backlash, and anger have raised the question whether people really support equality in the first place; and when the divisiveness has weakened the will to fight and to struggle to overcome obstacles one of the roles of religion is quite simply to restate the ideal--that is to say, one has to go back to basics.

There is a discussion in the Talmud about what the fundamental idea in the Bible is. What is one principle from which we can derive all of religion or religious commitment? (It turns out, when one asks what is the fundamental principle, that the correct answer is that two Rabbis disagree.) Rabbi Akiva, one of the great figures of the Talmud, suggests that the fundamental principle from which all must be derived is "love your neighbor as yourself." (Leviticus 19, 18) His colleague, Ben Azzai, suggests another principle, and it is his principle that wins out. He says an even more fundamental principle is "And the Lord God created the human in His image; in the image of God He created the human; man and woman, He created them." (Genesis 1, 26) The Talmud understands that there are three implications to this principle that the human being is in the image of God.

- The infinite value of each being, of each life. To save one life is like saving a whole world.

- Equality. There is no preferred image of God. If there is an image of God that is preferred, such as "white" or "man," then that is an idol. No image of God is preferred, for God is beyond all such images. The converse implication is that no image of God can be treated or created as inferior without degrading God.

- The uniqueness of each individual. Images of man are designed to be identical. Every dollar bill is supposed to represent every other dollar bill in the same way. The image of God, by definition, is unique. If you have seen one, you have not seen them all. To fail to develop the skill and talent of each one uniquely is to degrade and deny that very principle of image of God.

Even more crucial to our concern is the ultimate and incredible claim of the Jewish and Christian religions that this world, the economic, political, cultural world that we live in, must be restructured to respect and nurture the dignity of the image of God. If there is no money for kidney dialysis, and, therefore, people die at this moment who could be kept alive by existing technology; if there is not adequate schooling for a child due to the lack of money, then this is a statement of the value of a child. If in the Sahara children who could have been kept alive by a few dollars' worth of milk die of starvation, then that is a statement of what life is ultimately worth.

Therefore, as long as Black children die more frequently in childhood, get less education, and, when they grow up, live shorter lives with less health and more unemployment, then that is an essential contradiction of the claims of democracy and religion. The fundamental integrity and legitimacy of society is at stake in correcting these failings.

Religious groups can make an important contribution to the resolution of the festering social/cultural crisis of deprivation and discrimination by restating the fundamental importance of the 'image of God' principle. The concept is obviously in cliche, too, but it is important to restate and proclaim it nevertheless. I believe there are millions who are not ready to practice "love your neighbor as yourself," but who will support and do support the principle of the image of God--recognizing that their own children in the long run cannot have an image of God unless the other's is also recognized and nurtured.

At this point, we do not need that everybody be converted to the reign of love. That end is something to look forward to, to work at. In the short run, what we need is the fundamental restatement of the principle and the demand to create the political, economic, and cultural conditions for its realization. We will find great support if we do not let disagreements on tactics or awareness of racism or other forms of negative attitudes block us from working together in confronting the issue.

It is important to restate the fundamental values. In the 1940s, in the classic study, An American Dilemma, Gunnar Myrdal pointed out the gap between the American creed of liberty, equality, and opportunity and the cultural practice of segregation and discrimination. Myrdal argued that if civil rights supporters could tap into the broad American loyalty to the fundamental creed, ultimately discrimi-

nation was vulnerable. I believe the same holds true today. But first, we have to restate the priorities and the fundamentals. Notwithstanding the backlash and the economic scare that has given business a certain blank check today and the fear of excessive government spending hurting the economy which has grown out of this last period of inflation and recession, the readiness to assert fundamentals is there.

Religion can raise the standard and proclaim again this commitment to fundamental justice. Only this time religion should speak not only out of the idealism and the naivete and the hopefulness of the '60s. To use the imagery of Jewish tradition: We speak as the Rabbis of the Talmud did. After destruction of the Temple, they reaffirmed the infinite value of human life out of a renewal of the covenant. It can be compared to those early Christians after the crucifixion who proclaimed not a simple faith but a faith of resurrection which is a faith that comes after defeat. The Talmudic statement of faith was not as glorious as the moment of the revelation at Sinai. In the long run, it was far more credible--because its affirmation came after the failure and after disillusionment.

Faith that is based on naive hope and universal acceptance cannot stand up to disillusionment and to failures. Faith that has lived through defeat and has the courage to proclaim again can overcome. Faith is not proven wrong if for short periods it is proclaimed and people do not listen. Jews, every year for nineteen hundred years, said "Next year in Jerusalem." At what point should Jews have stopped and said, "We are fools; it will never happen?" In fact, after nineteen hundred years, it happened--because for nineteen hundred years they did not quit. If Christians, too, proclaim after nineteen hundred years that the kingdom has come and keep saying it, it may yet become true.

Part of the Rabbis' contribution was to be more modest as well as to restate the fundamental principle. Because the Rabbinic affirmation of human value came after the defeat and not beforehand, it was more realistic in its demands and was all the more successful for it! The Rabbis pitched their demands to the concrete support, money, backing, and institutional help needed to realize worthy norms. The task today is to articulate values while at the same time not allowing either negative feelings or disillusion to become the excuse not to produce the concrete improvements that nurture the image of God.

Now: a second question. If the principle is so clear and so obvious to all, what went wrong? Why did the societal consensus for action on racial justice slip? Is there something we can learn about why it slipped--and then correct for the future? Some of the slippage is quite simply because racism does continue. Some of it is selfishness; it was easy to advocate educational justice for the South, but when it came home North a lot of people got off the bus. But as a full explanation of what happened such explanations would be too simple. If that is the whole explanation, nothing can be done, and all is lost. Therefore, let us take up the challenge of asking: are there other elements that are in the situation that we can learn from and that can still be corrected? I would like to suggest a few other factors and an approach for dealing with them.

Number One. We have to recognize the fact that there was a fundamental shift of tactics in the last fifteen years, a shift from the demand for freedom of opportunity, from the belief that there is no caste here and that the Constitution is "colorblind." We have moved beyond the universally hailed Supreme Court statement that separate education opportunities are inherently unequal and from Kenneth Clark's prophetic critique that those who are charged with the responsi-

bility of teaching minorities do not believe that they can learn and that these expectations must be raised.

We have shifted to a far more complex and, in fact, more dangerous--or, at least, difficult--path which is: asking for guaranteed outcomes. Lyndon Johnson, in 1965, said: "It is not enough to open the gates of opportunity and invite our citizens to go through; all our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates." Equal opportunity is essential but not enough. Again, in the Bakke case, Justice Powell said, "In order to get beyond racism we must first take account of race." This claim is a far more difficult, far more problematic approach that raises serious questions in people's minds--and not just people of bad will. Alexander Bickel, for example--the late Alexander Bickel--wrote in his critique of that statement: "Having found support in the Constitution for equality, we now find support for inequality under the same Constitution." "This 'new' principle arouses great concern, the fear of substituting race for competence, the fear that new injustices will be substituted for the old. And the truth is that there is truth on both sides of the argument over the new approach.

The Bible (Deuteronomy 15, v. 12 ff.) says that when an ex-slave is set free, one cannot simply set him free. One must give special help and special payments (to set somebody free after all those disadvantages is not to set them equally free). That same Bible (Exodus 23, 3) also says that you should not give special recognition to the poor in their struggle (lest you pollute the impartiality of justice). There is a truth on both sides. The question is how one uses the truth: to evade responsibility or to meet it.

I personally think that part of the answer might be "affirmative action, yes; quotas, no." Yet this resolution is rejected by many Jews, and others. The idea of "quotas, yes" is affirmed by many Blacks and by many Whites. My contention is that here is a genuine situation where there is conflict of truths. Much depends on how the truths are applied. However, instead of confronting the fact of two-sidedness, in the last decade there has been a strong tendency to delegitimation and loss of trust. There has been a breakdown of respect with repeated claims that those who raise the issue are, ipso facto, looking for an excuse to get out of the obligation to justice. As a result, we have lost the respect not only of each other but also millions of other bystanders who, in fact, themselves are confused and worried and unable to resolve the question.

Secondly, changes in tactics raised issues, but the issues were not admitted. The shift from "no discrimination" to requiring integration was well-intentioned and, I believe, ultimately correct. Nevertheless, this shift raised issues such as busing, neighborhood schools, effects on children, and in addition, from the Black side, a feeling that the glorification of integration was a putdown of Blacks and raised the risk of denying Black dignity. Instead of confronting these issues in all of the complex conflict of impact and side-effects of tactics, I believe there was a pattern of dismissal by denunciation as racism. When the author of the Coleman Report, which had been used to justify busing in 1975, expressed his concern that the main effect was White flight, he was attacked as if he had never labored for integration. At some point, there has to be the ability to discuss the issues and avoid the risk of delegitimation.

A second example of this tactical shift relates to how much each community helps itself to overcome its problems. This was the issue raised by Daniel Moynihan's work in the 1960s, when he suggested that a major concern should be

the breakdown of the Black family--as a result in good measure of wrong welfare politics. Important works by authors, such as Thomas Sowell, in the 1970s and 1980s, have shown that different communities have different patterns of self-help. But, for fear that this issue would be used to blame Blacks as principally to blame for their own poverty (which is, of course, an ugly and evil evasion) there has been a tendency to deny the issue or to dismiss those who raise it as somehow trying to undermine the cause of justice. A further consequence was an insistence that only more money would make the system work for the poor. When more money did not work, there was a backlash against government help which has weakened all who want economic betterment for Blacks and played into the hands of those who truly are opposed to racial justice.

A third example is community control. Clearly, community control is the key to self-help. Clearly, the importance of Black role models--in every kind of role model--is essential to the discussion. But the very same issue raised the issues of radicalization and Black counter-racism. In the course of the struggle, there were outbursts of anti-Semitism--at least in the perception of many Jews in New York City. Instead of confronting the fact that there were truths on both sides and dangers on both sides, there has been a tendency to self-justify on either side. Whites of good will looked away and denied that others were appealing to White fear of Black radicalism to suppress the issue; some Black leaders appealed to Black recognition of injustice not to break solidarity and confront the issue of Black racism even when raised by people of good faith.

In discussing whether the Torah--the teaching and revelation--is helpful or destructive, the Talmud says, "if they are worthy, the Torah, the divine word, is a medicine that is healing. If they are unworthy, it is poison, and it kills." Each of these ideas--of special help or affirmative action, of magnet schools and busing, of self-help and government intervention--each of these ideas if used correctly is medicine, if misused is poison. To confront and separate the medicine from the poison, one must openly admit it; one must have a constant process of policy review and correction. There must be an ability to go beyond the easy lines of liberalism vs. conservatism or of Whites versus Blacks or of one religion versus another. Indeed, religion's contribution could be to develop the true capacity to be an image of God. True religion understands that God is not just a God of mercy but also the God of judgment. God is not just transcendent, God is also immanent. I submit that self-help is as important as government help, but government help is indispensable; that neighborhood schools are an important part of the health of New York City and every major city, and yet magnet schools and other forms of special help are also essential.

The task is, together, out of good will and out of honest and continuing self-criticism, to insist that there be more Blacks in policy positions and that they be chosen by excellence and by merit. Part of that merit is the role model, but it is not enough just to simply insist on Black representation per se. This is part of the truth that we have to struggle with together rather than to offer answers that will be interpreted as simplistic. The truth is, because we have not had this integrity of discussion, the issue has been taken over by many who oppose justice and are looking for excuses to delay. Therefore, it will take a major effort to restore credibility with the population at large in order to achieve justice. And precisely because there is a lack of trust in each other, it will be twice as difficult to do. At each step, the words above can be easily rationalized to doing nothing or stigmatized as covert racism. I hope they will be a challenge to soften party lines and to get cooperation from a much broader coalition than up to now.

Finally, how do we overcome? How do we move forward? I do not have all the answers. Some good proposals were made in this symposium. Here are one or two additional suggestions. Too much was loaded on education and particularly on public education. I can show this from the Jewish experience. The Jewish community is going through a crisis of fear of losing its children by assimilation; simultaneously, there has been a near-mania that Jewish education 'save Jewry.' If you will, this concern is comparable to the Black concern in terms of integration and justice in America.

Jewish educators have come to realize more and more that the school can do only so much. At its best, if it does ten percent more than the family, it is a wonderful contribution. Ten percent improvement is a remarkable and important contribution. It is worth fighting for. But, to load everything on the school, to make it the main focus of political struggle, and to make it the main savior is unfair to the school--and beyond its capability.

The issues must be dealt with in the arena of the entire society. Politics is the key to opening up the whole range of opportunity which eventually will show up in education as well. That is why Black political power is one of the keys to the future of justice. Justice cannot depend just on good will. There must be sufficient power for those who are potentially treated with injustice to insure that they get better treatment. Part of our joint moral commitment is to recognize the need for power of the other so "they" should not depend on "our" good will, either. One of the bitter lessons Jews learned in the Holocaust is that one of the greatest, most liberal Presidents of all time, Franklin D. Roosevelt, failed to come through in the crunch; one of the greatest Popes in modern times, Pope Pius XII, turned an indifferent ear to what was going on. What is the lesson? Not cynicism--but rather that Jews have to be strong enough to protect themselves. That is why the Jewish people turned to Zionism and to the State of Israel as a focus of support. Jews now have to understand that the same lesson applies to Blacks and Hispanics and to every other group. Each other's power is the best guarantee that we, ourselves, will do the right thing at the right time.

Finally, religion's role is to set forth methods as well as concepts. It is not enough to proclaim the great ideas; one must live them. What did the Israelites do the day after the Exodus? In the middle of the desert, needing water and food, they panicked, because they were still slaves; they wanted to run back to Egypt. What did the Israelites do the day after Sinai? Proclaim that we are slaves only to the Lord and not to humans? The day after Sinai they were still slaves; that generation worked on it for a lifetime. It took much longer than that to overcome slavery.

Religion must move, to some extent, from the prophetic role of religion to what I call the rabbinic role. The different in my mind between prophets and rabbis is as follows. Isaiah, the great prophet, said, "Free the slaves," "Purify yourselves"--magnificent words--but those who study the record of the prophets know nobody every listened to them. The Rabbis made realization of his words possible.

Before I became President of the National Jewish Resource Center, I was a professor and a rabbi. I, of course, always wanted to play the prophetic role and make wonderful proclamations. How well I remember Chapter 34 of Jeremiah in particular. Jeremiah had the courage in the middle of wartime to stand in front of the whole court where the slaves were being used to build fortifications against the

Babylonians. Instead of letting the slaves go free they kept the slaves after six years. In a magnificent prophetic moment, he gets up and says, "I told you to let your brothers . . . go free after six years. You did not listen to me . . . Therefore, I am going to declare you free to the sword and the plague . . . and give you over to the forces of the King of Babylon . . ." (Jeremiah 34, v. 14, 17, 21) Everytime I read that chapter, I used to weep at the sheer heroism: to defy the whole court and to stand up and say this in wartime!!

When I became President of an organization, it dawned upon me that I had it all wrong. In retrospect, I asked myself: What really happened? The King was trying to building a fortification; the Babylonians were two miles away from Jerusalem; people were desperately working around the clock, the free men and the slaves alike working all-out. In walks this crazy prophet and says: "Let the slaves go free." This man obviously never met a payroll in his life!

My conclusion is that Jeremiah and Isaiah both failed because they expected perfection. The rabbis said, "Let us negotiate. If you are going to free the slaves, let us start by letting them go free after six years." When that was achieved, the Rabbi said, "While you have them for six years, improve their conditions." When that was achieved, they urged that slaves were entitled to equal conditions with masters. When that was achieved, they said slaves were entitled to better conditions because they were slaves and needed extra help. At that point, the masters said, "Let us let them go free--it is easier." And that is what happened.

In short, to obtain justice in education, we need a moral campaign and improvements in methods. We need the dialectic of proclaiming fundamentals with the willingness to take the nuts and bolts seriously. To find many different ways for improvement--volunteers, special help, PTAs--is the task ahead of us; this action will give credibility to a sweeping campaign for perfection.

The key to a renewal of the movement for justice is a covenant. Between us, were I a Christian, I would say a new covenant; as a Jew, I will say a renewed covenant. This covenant must recognize that Blacks cannot do it alone. The covenant must incorporate a new willingness to affirm the good will of the other and a new willingness to be critical of ourselves. Let Blacks take it upon themselves to challenge the Black community to do more. Let Jews take it upon themselves to challenge the Jewish community to do more. This new or renewed covenant of willingness to fight the issues with all their complexity and to take the public into our trust is based on the belief that ultimately the decency of America will win out. As leaders, we have to test the limits of the people, but we must not dismiss all White resistance as racism. This would do an injustice to the White and the White poor in particular. Rabbi Isreal Salanter once said: A rabbi whose congregation does not want to fire him is no rabbi; but, if the congregation fires him, he is no 'mensch,' i.e., not human enough to deal with the problems. In this spirit, I would suggest that we have to push ahead and challenge the community to the point where they think of firing us; but, if they do fire us, we have failed to keep the connection, failed to see some of the issues that I have tried to raise. It is the task of leadership to renew the covenant and to carry on in the spirit of Salanter, who said, "To meet the challenge of leadership, one must commit oneself not to despair, not to get angry, not to expect to finish the job." But one must start at once.

MORNING PRESENTER

Albert Vann
Member of the New York State Assembly from the 56th Assembly District (Kings County)

A native of the Bedford-Stuyvesant community. Received Bachelor's Degree from Toledo University in 1950, Master's Degree in Education from Yeshiva University in 1962, and Master's Degree in Guidance and Counseling from Long Island University in 1974. Involved in the field of education for 15 years as a teacher, counselor, and administrator at the elementary, secondary, and college levels. Serves as Chairman of the Assembly's Children and Families Committee and as a member of the Assembly's Health, Education, and Ways and Means Committees.

Thank you Dr. Clark. Out of respect to Black History Month could we all stand please. While you are standing could you stretch.

Members of the Board of Regents, Chancellor Genrich, Commissioner Ambach, Panelists, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Board of Regents, The State Education Department and the Interfaith Education Advisory Council must be commended for taking the initiative in bringing together such a distinguished group of educators, legislators and religious leaders to deal with so thorny an issue as racial justice and equality in education, because an assessment of the dimensions of social change are particularly important at this time. Challenges to the establishment of linkages between attainment of racial justice, access to educational opportunity, and, by extension, access to economic equality have been mounted during the past ten years. In order to place the gravity of these challenges into the proper perspective, it will be helpful to approach the discussion by comparing the two epochs during which the most dramatic and far-reaching movements towards equality of educational opportunity occurred.

Prior to 1865, the right to attend public schools had not been extended to all free Black residents of the States in any region of the nation. Blacks in Boston sued to desegregate the public schools in 1849. They won in 1855. In 1857, the Dred Scott Decision effectively nullified the claim of free Blacks to citizenship on a constitutional basis. Following the Civil War and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, the debate over the Fourteenth Amendment began. Ratified in 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment provided the definitive constitutional guarantees of citizenship and protection of Civil Rights for all citizens and residents of the nation. The Fourteenth Amendment also provided the means for the Congress to enact legislative supports for the enforcement of the Amendment. Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and passage of the Enforcement Acts completed the setting for the first epoch of a drive for racial justice.

The combined efforts of religious bodies, the Freedmen's Bureau and the southern state legislatures composed of Black and White elected officials provided the foundation for private and public education facilities in areas in which the

majority of Black people resided. The founding of the Black colleges, those private institutions of higher learning whose survival is most threatened at this moment, marked the beginning of the steady emergence of Black leadership in professional, technical and cultural areas. The first Reconstruction, then, was marked by a profound change in the cause of justice for all citizens through the acceptance of the necessity for a vigorous pursuit of the ideals professed in the Constitution.

Differences of opinion and objectives relating to equality soon emerged, however. Decisions by the Supreme Court, beginning with the Slaughter House Cases of 1873, began to erode the foundations of a concept of racial justice. Legislative action in the form of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 - of the right to use public accommodations - was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court decision in the Civil Rights Cases of 1883. The final impediment to federal protection of the right of Black people to share equally in education, social or economic accommodations was embodied in the comment found in the majority opinion in Plessy vs. Ferguson:

> If the Civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane.

The inference of inferiority can be examined in the context of one of the reigning credos of that era -- the ideas called Social Darwinism. Despite the dissent of Justice John Marshall Harlan to the above, varied applications of the ideas of survival of the fittest, and laissez-faire were applied to the political, economic and educational status of Black people in the United States from the end of Reconstruction I in 1877, until May 18, 1954.

On that date, the reading of the Court's opinion in Brown vs. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, et. al., can be said to mark the beginning of the Second Reconstruction. The emergence of a new group of significant leadership models in the persons of Malcolm X, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Whitney Young, Jr., John Lewis and Roy Wilkins heralded a signal period of cooperative efforts to achieve racial justice. The leadership model set down by John F. Kennedy under which the concept of equality under the Constitution was articulated with eloquence and elegance provided reinforcement of a moral tone under which all could confirm commitments to principle through effective action. Though violence effected the removal of Malcolm X, the Kennedys, and King, the legislative process provided the basis for achievement of their goals through enactment of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Second Reconstruction was public acknowledgement of the continued existence of glaring inequalities in access to the opportunity to share in the resources of the most technically developed nation. Access to higher education, access to housing, access to employment in a chosen field, access to adequate health care delivery services and access to the security of the personally supportive environment necessary for avoidance of frustrations, aggressive behaviors, and debilitative dependencies such as alcoholism and substance abuses, were recognized as unequal when race and etnnicity were examined as indicators of equal opportunity.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided the wherewithal for excellence in education through such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts of 1965.

From the legislative view, the current declining commitment to the ideal of excellence can be seen in the hesitance of the public to provide full support for a sustained attack on the root causes of inequality of outcomes in education, employment opportunities and social change. Indifference to community insistence on provision of quality of environment for learning must be of paramount concern to those committed citizens. Do we learn lessons from history? How many assessments of the Citywide reading tests for NYC commented extensively on the fact that a loss of two months in reading level occurred for the year 1968-69 as a result of the teacher's strike which lasted two months? Those teachers committed to the continued education of children during that strike, and the succeeding one, carried out their commitment to the principles related to that attainment of equality through the provision of quality education.

The struggles of that period did result in and grew out of legislative action on federal, state and local levels designed to provide the administrative and monetary wherewithal necessary for equalization of access to education. Then, as now, access to education - first to quality and consistency of instruction in elementary and secondary education - was defined as the pre-requisite for motivation to pursue higher educational training. Successful entry into technical, professional, and service fields characteristic of the changing patterns of employment would improve life changes and self fulfillment for those motivated to transcend levels of mediocre performance.

In the State of New York, the legislative and the administrative bodies of the State educational system provided the means to implement these goals through SEEK, College Discovery, ACE, TAP, and other enabling devices.

While the results of these legislative acts are measurable, the measure must include the fact that a considerable number of Black, Hispanic, and non-Black people have not had equal access to employment or a satisfying mode of living made available to them. While the nation's priorities have been affected by the effects of inflation, recessions, interest rates, and events related to international relations, domestic matters related to equality of opportunity have been more negatively affected by shifts in emphasis related to currents of opinion in which race and ethnicity are being used to influence public policy.

The challenges to equal access to education must be considered within the contexts of:

1. control or sharing of decision making as this shapes policy;

2. the capacity of the nation to effectively eliminate institutional racism.

New debate over the emergence of neo-conservatism would accomplish little here. A brief look at some of the manifestations of neo-conservatism might be productive.

Reconstruction II has for all intents and purposes ended. The results, while mixed, are not being discounted in some circles because instant and complete transformations of the society have not taken place. While the techniques for terminating, or at best, reducing the level and intensity of commitment to equal access are different from those used in the 1880's, the ultimate result will be the same for the general economic class. National priorities shifted as a result of

industrialization and changes in the corporate and financial structure of the nation in the 1880's.

1984 is the twentieth year since the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Whereas in 1884, Blacks were mostly sharecroppers without land, 1984 finds the majority of Blacks and Hispanics as landless urban dwellers. Current and predicted changes in the industrial and technical areas present continuing needs for evaluation of the effectiveness of delivery of educational services in kind and quality to that segment of the population for whom chances for acquisition of technical skill and a high quality of liberal education are currently most negligible.

Within the realm of ideas, the most crucial need will be the sustaining of awareness of the negation of ideals of justice and equal access to opportunity through acceptance of the current existence of a verifiable group of people bereft of employment or educational goals as a norm. The current challenges to the validity of the concept of affirmative action in education and employment are signals to be reckoned with.

Beginning with the Bakke and Weber decisions, the climate for vigorous pursuit of action mandated by the legislation providing for affirmative action has been affected negatively. The recently published statement concerning the alleged decline of academic standards since the advent of open admissions and affirmative action policies, while made by Ms. Linda Chaves, in her relationship to the current U.S. Civil Rights Commission, is not original, but a restatement of allegations made by opponents to free tuition and open admissions during the year of the financial crisis at City University of New York, 1975-76.

From my life experiences as an educator, legislator, and citizen member of a constituency affected by changing attitudes towards the definition of equality of access, maintenance of access to legal defense for all regardless of economic status, and quality instruction at all levels of the educational system, I see the key issues facing educational, civil, religious, legislative and cultural leaderships to be the following:

1. The paying of attention to the need for interpretation of current uses of philosophical positions to diminish public support for the responsiveness of government, through its elected and appointed officials, for provision and protection of the means for achievement of goals in education, employment, and cultural fulfillment.

2. Specific, structured interpretation of the continually widening disparities between the economic groupings experiencing underemployment, unemployment, and no employment. The social consequences for these groups will be increasingly negative if the pretence that these men, women, and children do not exist is permitted to relegate them to the permanent ranks of "The Invisible Man".

3. The quality of performance in an educational setting is determined by the level of expectations set down for the students, the degree of motivation to excel provided by the instructor as model, and the expectations for performance set forth by the administrative structure. Those charged with performing at all levels are products of a society in which values are arrived at by consensus rather than by fiat. The degree to which a society is successful in achieving ideals depends ultimately upon the strengths it demonstrates in observing its own laws.

Historically, the legislative apparatus for attaining racial justice through education has been put in place in the instances previously outlined. The factor of race has limited implementation of legislative intent through actions and attitudes of the Executive and Judicial branches when diffidence, opposition, or philosophical differences have remained.

In planning strategies for continued elimination of racial injustice, it is important to take note of the fact that we planned for the education of the children of a generation of migrants into urban areas. The perceptions of race and ethnicity held by these children are at least one step removed from the actualities of plantation economies, or legally enforceable laws restricting access to public accommodations, employment, or housing. A generation of youth reaching maturity nearly twenty years after the deaths of Malcolm X, Whitney Young, Jr., and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. hold only second-hand accounts of the various combinations of private and public institutions and leadership groups which fought to achieve equal justice and opportunity for all as illustrated during the years 1954-1970. They are not necessarily sensitive to the influences of the media in the projection of their successes - i.e, the sensational aspects of race, class, and ethnicity as compared to the emphasis placed on the negative and the bizarre. It is, therefore, imperative that those of us in leadership positions employ methods which will neutralize, if not counteract, the actions of other national leaders who use the media to reinforce racist and ethno-centric attitudes by demeaning the poor; using the power of propaganda to characterize and stigmatize the least affluent as cheats, lazy idlers worthy only of contempt.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest the following as possible starting points in our attempts to address the problem of race and inequality in education:

1. attention to positive expectations for performance
2. provision of support services needed to shore up personal perceptions of the possibilities for success
3. emphasis on shared cultural values rather than the constant presentation of western civilization as the only desirable model from which to draw values
4. continued emphasis on the liberal arts and humanities as the basis for a fully participating society
5. continued support from the legislative bodies for implementation of policies and programs designed to deliver quality services to the public as a whole
6. renewed strategies through which the business, religious, civic, and educational sectors assist in interpreting the fact that a considerable proportion of the total population is existing below the level of subsistence deemed essential because of unemployment, dislocation caused by technological change, and the acceptance of philosophies under which these conditions are made compatible with democratic ideas and institutions.

This last is most important in terms of the current attempts to define social stratifications based on race and economic status as factors acceptable in the natural order and setting of priorities. When that is accepted, the moral cause of injustice is lost.

AFTERNOON PRESENTER

Eleanor Holmes Norton
Professor of Law
Georgetown University
Law Center

Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center, since 1982.

Received Bachelor's Degree from Antioch College in 1960, Master's Degree from Yale Graduate School in 1963, and Doctor of Laws Degree from Yale Law School in 1964. Served as Assistant Legal Director, American Civil Liberties Union, 1965-1970; Chair, New York Human Rights Commission, 1970-1977; Chair, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1977-1981; Senior Fellow, The Urban Institute, 1981-1982. Recognized as an authority on domestic issues including affirmative action, comparable worth, employer-employee relations, and social and economic issues. Recipient of numerous honorary degrees and awards and co-author of Sex Discrimination and the Law: Causes and Remedies.

The Following is an Excerpt from Professor Norton's Presentation

Again and again Americans have congratulated themselves that they have come a long way since Black children went to segregated schools under the federal mandate of Plessy vs. Ferguson, since Blacks in business clothes were a rarity downtown, and since Black men served in segregated units to fight the great war against bigotry. Yet the very remedies that have brought these results are today under attack. Moreover, public understanding of the remedies that have yielded this progress has lagged, and of late inflammatory, polarizing rhetoric and political leadership at the national level have come to threaten not only the remedies but civility, honesty and harmony in the much needed dialogue on this difficult subject. For if there are reasons why the law today mandates affirmative action, there are also reasons why many Americans are confused about the remedies.

That confusion is likely to be heightened by the rigidly ideological posture assumed so abruptly and caustically by the new Civil Rights Commission, which has set its fact against twenty years of court decisions and congressional statutes and invited citizens to disrespect the law which uniformly mandates the very civil rights remedies the Commission deprecates. Thus, today federal officials have assumed the role of railing against mandated civil rights laws that were the special stance of state officials twenty years ago. For the first time in memory federal officials, especially the Justice Department and the new Civil Rights Commission, have used federal office to incite division on delicate civil rights remedies mandated by law. Their pronouncements have transgressed the borders of fair criticism. For they have not tempered their criticism with the admonition central to their public responsibility that even when citizens disagree with law they are bound to obey and respect it. This is a solemn duty of public office, especially in the sensitive area of civil rights and especially in a nation where equality issues have a tragic history of defiance.

CONCLUDING SESSION PRESENTER

Reverend
W. Franklyn Richardson

Since April 1975, pastor, Grace Baptist Church of Mount Vernon, New York. Serves as General Secretary of the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.

Graduated from Virginia Union University, pursued graduate studies at Yale University's School of Divinity, and received a Doctorate of Divinity Degree from Virginia Seminary, Lynchburg, in 1978. Served as pastor at the Rising Mount Zion Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, and the Saint James Baptist Church, Richmond.

Currently, serves as President of the United Black Clergy of Mount Vernon, President of the Black Ministers Coalition Council, and presiding Commissioner of Housing for the City of Mount Vernon.

Thank you, Commissioner Ambach. To all of the Regents and all persons responsible for our gathering here today and to all of you, my fellow symposium participants, I am extremely delighted to have been asked to give a concluding statement and summary on what we have been about in this very brief time, and, for many of us, too brief has been the time for the amount of material we have tried to go over.

I want to say that I commend the conference planners and those persons responsible for giving to us a balance in the program and for designing it so that various aspects of our community were represented. I am humbled by this invitation to be a part of this session and to come with this conclusion and summary.

I said to someone, my task was the most challenging, because I could not bring my speech with me here, already typed and prepared. Rather, what I have been called to do was to be an outgrowth of what has gone on here today. I have sought to do that. Permit me to begin by telling a story; you know Baptist preachers are good on telling stories:

> The story goes that there was a person who was sitting on the banks of a river. He noticed that a person who came down the river was drowning, and he went in the river and pulled him out. A few moments passed when a second person came down the river. Again, he went in and pulled him out. What followed was that five or six or seven people passed down the river, and he kept going in the river and pulling them out. Finally, he decided that he would stop going in the river and

that he would go up to the head of the river to find out and stop whoever was throwing them in.

I want to thank this conference today for calling us to the head of the river. Most of us spend our time and our energies and our expertise in the various aspects of our professions and careers. We spend most of our time trying to pull people out of the river who are drowning. Some of them are drowning from ignorance and functional illiteracy; some are drowning from unemployment, underemployment; some are drowning from political powerlessness. I thank God for this opportunity for the various dynamics of this community to be called together at the head of the river and to begin to try to unearth for us what is responsible for so many people being sent down the river and being drowned.

As we, the religious leaders, synagogues and churches, the educators, the business community and politicians, examine the theme of injustice, we all discover that the monster of American racism is plunging the least and the last downstream. What we have unearthed here today is that we are discovering, in concert with what all of the presenters and all of the participants have said, the fundamental thing in American society that is responsible for pushing people downstream drowning is the monster at the head of the river -- racism. Many divergent views have been expressed this morning on how to slay the dragon of American racism. The pivotal conflict has been, how shall we preserve academic excellence and yet protect racial equity. Peter J. Parish, the author of a book called Conflicts in Black Leadership, examines four American leaders who fought to alleviate the great evil of American racism: Joseph Jackson, a Baptist preacher and a former President of the National Baptist Convention; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a Baptist preacher and foremost leader of the American Civil Rights Movement; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a Baptist preacher and political leader; Malcolm X, son of a Baptist preacher (you see, I want you to understand I do have some authority).

In examining their styles of leadership, Peter Parish says that the genius of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. was his ability to appreciate the need for a complimentary approach to the struggle for racial justice in America. There cannot be simply a tolerance of another's perspective, but there has to be a genuine respect and responsible consideration of what is offered. We must not simply tolerate each other to say what the solution is. We must seriously consider what each of us offers and, after seriously considering it, use what is applicable where we are. As we have listened today to the various perspectives, it is important for us to understand that the remedy is not to be found in any single approach but, rather, in our ability to synthesize the best and the most realistic contribution of each.

This was demonstrated in our keynote speaker, Dr. Alonzo Crim, as he led us off this morning. He presented a working model of a Community of Believers. He showed us where in Atlanta educators, business persons, political persons, and religious leaders, were providing education, jobs and finances together, using their political clout and the healing word of the clergy community to salvage persons who would normally go downstream and drown.

Bishop Howard Hubbard, today, challenged us to a personal synthesizing by an acceptance of responsibility for oppression by the majority community. There can be no real change until the majority community, namely White America, accepts its responsibility for oppression. Bishop Hubbard used as the authority of this synthesizing a Judeo-Christian theology. He used that to be the authority for the majority culture to accept.

The Honorable H. Carl McCall offered a practicum for dealing with the evil of racism as manifested in our public school systems. He suggested three ways that we might do that: by Black political empowerment, by greater accountability in the educational system to the authorities of the educational system, and by a coalition between Black educators and Black politicians.

Dr. Irving Greenberg offered a theological perspective, a perspective enhanced and informed by a history of persecution and oppression. He was able to offer some authority, because he spoke from a community that has experienced persecution and oppression, and we must hear him. He called us, and I thought this was a remarkable call, he called us to live in the tension, to not pretend that the tension does not exist. We are always too quick to find solutions that eliminate the tension. We are too quick to find one-sided solutions, but Dr. Greenberg called us to live in the uncomfortableness of the tension of both perspectives, and he called us in the Hebrew perspective to a renewed covenant, and I shall surrender to that as opposed to a new covenant. And in this renewed covenant he called us, as Blacks, not to do it alone. So, part of the covenant is a challenge to the majority and White community that you who are White and have the benefits of this society for the years of its history must not sit back and say, "Black folk, you all straighten it out by yourselves." Then, he said also that Blacks must have the authority and the integrity to critically examine themselves. Now, that covenant seems reasonable and workable to me.

The Honorable Albert Vann provided for us a broader context, a historical understanding of our struggle with racism and how it has run a cycle in American history. He illustrated that by calling this period that just ended the conclusion of Reconstruction Two. You know what happened after Reconstruction One. Educationally, Mr. Vann said that we need a consistency in education. We must make equal access to opportunities to have motivation to pursue our education. Somehow, we must provide a w[illegible] for people, once they are prepared, to find ways to use it.

Dr. Eleanor Holmes Norton came so eloquently today and demonstrated how the legal process has worked and can work to rid our system of the functional manifestations of racism. We will not get rid of the theological, and we will not get rid of the spiritual, and we will not get rid of the social, but we will get the functional manifestation of racism out of the system through the legal process. She made a great comparison between immigrants and the Blacks. She talked about how the White males have been able to use their skin as a passport into the mainstream of American society.

The issue before us as we anticipate going from here, as we anticipate our imminent return to our own spheres of operation, as we go back to industry, as we go back to business, as we go back to the church and the synagogue and all of the categories in the church, Baptists and Methodists and all, is we must go back with a question, with two questions. What is the passport for the racially oppressed? How do racially oppressed who do not have the option, as we have seen so beautifully illustrated in the movie not long ago in which I think it was Godfrey Cambridge, a Black, who tried to be White, find a passport. We must find a way, a passport for the racially oppressed, that does not call for them to lose their dignity or to divest themselves, which is an impossibility, of the color of their skin. And what do we do with all that we have heard here? What do we do will all of this? We've been here all day. How do we translate it? How do we make it what it ought to be? I will close with this story:

There was a woman who went to church all the time, an old lady. She had a young son, must have been sixteen or so, and who was rebelling against her and said when she came home from church one day, "Grandma what did the preacher preach about?" She said, "I don't know what he preached about," and started giggling and laughing. He said, "You go to church every Sunday, and the preacher preach and you don't know what the preacher preached about." And she said, "No, son but, I'll tell you what I want to you to do. Would you take this basket and go down to the river and get me some water?" The smart young man began to go to the river, got to the river and came back. He said, "Grandma, you know that basket wasn't going to hold no water to bring back here." She said, "I knew that, but the basket is a whole lot cleaner because the water passed through it."

Now the quick application of that anecdote would be that somehow this process has made us better because we survived it today, we sat through it. But, that really is not very scientific. We will not be simply better, and the world will not be simply better because we sat through it, through this speech and this experience today. It will only be better as we all leave here committed in the places where we operate somehow always to understand that we are always in the struggle of moving from responsible rhetoric to realistic remedies. We must somehow translate this. We suffer in America from a systematic paralysis. We get caught up in the systems, and sometimes the systems become so intertwining that they never find release to the incarnation of what we talk about. We get caught up in conferences and in paper volumes, and somehow we become paralyzed by the systems that we have developed. We must, in conferences like this, develop ways to translate it. We must leave here as pilgrims in search of opportunities and innovative ways to make incarnate this vision as we have seen it here of a more just society, a place where every mountain is made low, every valley exalted, the crooked made straight, and the rough places made smooth, where the glory of God will be revealed, and all flesh, black and white, brown and yellow, male and female, Jew and Gentile, old and young, rich and poor, bound and free, will be able to experience a just society.

Finally, Mr. Ambach, the challenge for us is to move aggressively to seek and implement creative ways to include all aspects of the social dynamic in the process of education. It is the church's responsibility, it is society's responsibility, it is business and industry's responsibility, and the educators must be the catalysts for calling upon us and inviting us to participate in the process of education.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Gordon M. Ambach
Commissioner of
Education

Thank you, Reverend Richardson, for your splendid conclusion to the series of presentations we have had. I commend you for your capacity to capture the essence of each presentation we had this morning. (Applause). You can be especially pleased by the applause. It came from the presenters. Perhaps some of them wish they could have said it your way. I have had many opportunities to attend conferences and symposiums but have not had as interesting and, I think, as important an opportunity to listen as we had today. We have heard important expressions of commitment to what should be our next directions. We are in your debt for providing the summary of what we have heard.

Let me take your challenge, on behalf of the members of our Interfaith Education Advisory Council, to go to the head of the waters. The challenge is to use the process of education in families, in homes, in our faith institutions, in our places of work, and in our communities. We must use education to root out the racism of which you have spoken. We must use education to make certain full opportunity is provided at the start so the rescue operation downstream is not needed. We must assure that education enables each person to achieve self-sufficiency and carry his or her head high with success.

This symposium brings us together on the first day of February, 1984. Al Vann reminded us this is the first day of Black History Month. February 1 was not an accidental date for this symposium; nor was the date 1984 accidental. The year 1984 is a year about which we have been hearing a great deal, since 1948. In 1948 Orwell wrote his famous work. He targeted on 1984 just by reversing the last two numbers. The year 1984 has a special significance for all of us in education in New York State. We are 200 years old. This is a Bicentennial for The University of the State of New York, the oldest continuous educational system in this country. We pledged ourselves in this Bicentennial year to focus on the future. We have set our course of action to plan for elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education, our cultural institutions which are housed in this structure and across the State, and for vocational rehabilitation. In all those plans, the stress is on both the quest for excellence and the quest for equity.

In this Bicentennial year, the Regents have set a theme for each month. Our January theme was New York - State of the World -- a port of entry, a place, a capital for world finance, home of the United Nations, the place recognized as our nation's leading center for contact with the entire world. The theme for the month of February is New York - State of Access, Opportunity, and Diversity. As part of that theme we have held this symposium on this first day of February. It signals our intention to accept the challenge in the functional ways cited by Al Vann and Carl McCall.

We have a State responsibility. As each of us leaves this seminar, we must take a responsibility for actions which are within our own domain. We did not organize this symposium so that we could produce a position paper about what we all should be doing, or a single strategy as to what we should all be doing. There are different things we should each be doing, each carrying our own responsibility.

On behalf of my colleagues in the Department and the members of our Board of Regents, and I say this particularly in response to what Carl and Al advocated, I can cite certain actions expected of us.

We are involved in revising expectations and standards for elementary and secondary education in the State. Our revised plan is grounded in the belief Alonzo Crim cited, a belief that each and every child can learn and can succeed. Second, it is grounded in the belief that there is a need for establishing high expectations for all children to be able to develop their potential. And, third, it is grounded in a commitment that for all children to meet a high level of performance some children need much more assistance than others. We advocate the counterpart of the affirmative action that Eleanor Holmes Norton was talking about immediately after lunch, in her extraordinarily penetrating assessment of the historical development of affirmative action with the reasons why affirmative action must continue. In education there must be the special attention, the time, the care, the extra personnel necessary to be certain each and every child can attain the standards and expectations we expect for all. In addition to focussing our efforts on setting the standards, we are urging our legislature and Governor to appropriate the resources necessary to meet these objectives.

Our Interfaith Education Advisory Council and planning group responsible for this symposium will have the opportunity to review the recommendations and statements made here today. We will have published conference proceedings with the texts of the several presentations given today. We will provide those together with summaries of the discussion groups. That provides documentation not action. The action which comes thereafter is key. It may be action in a particular locality or region of this State from which some of you have come, perhaps not even knowing one another from your region before the symposium.

I agree with the optimistic conclusion of Eleanor's comments. It was a conclusion which looked at the struggle for equal rights with a strengthened will to work toward the fundamental objectives and the fundamental goals which I believe are all a part of us. Her call, and I think yours, Reverend, is for the leadership necessary to carry our traditions, faith commitments, and belief in education to "fill the basket with passports."

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for being with us.

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION SESSIONS

Between 1:45 p.m. and 3:45 p.m., Symposium participants met in small groups to discuss four questions related to Racial Justice and Education:

1) What are the major problems blocking achievement of racial justice in education and through education?
2) How are these problems best addressed and overcome today?
3) What will be the most important indicators of progress toward achievement of racial justice in the future?
4) How can the elementary, secondary and postsecondary schools; faith institutions; State and local governments; business/labor, community and social groups best cooperate to achieve the goals of racial justice?

The groups identified various answers for each question. The most common were:

Question: What are the major problems blocking achievement of racial justice in education and through education?

Answers:
- Racial justice is not perceived by many citizens as a problem; a complacency exists in society regarding racial justice.
- Lack of motivation to correct problems of racial justice.
- Individual attitudes that are not conducive to achieving racial justice.
- Lack of positive role models.
- Lack of adequate preparation for the world of work; education does not prepare students for the real world. Where preparation does occur, it focuses on skills for entry-level positions and not on skills necessary to move up within an occupation or profession; tracking.
- Low expectations on the part of students; education is not viewed as a priority.
- Lack of sensitive leadership.
- Lack of employment opportunities.
- People are willing to take the road of least resistance and are allowed to.
- Lack of a support system for students to help them cope with educational and other demands and pressures.
- Lack of a positive self-image on the part of students.

Question: How are these problems best addressed and overcome today?

Answers:
- Modification of attitudes of teachers, administrators, students, etc. through inservice education activities.
- Better communication and cooperation between schools and other groups and organizations (community, business, faith institutions, etc.); more participation in school activities.
- More assertive leadership to address and resolve problems.
- More coalitions of groups and organizations are needed to address the issues of racial justice.
- More and better economic and employment opportunities.
- Additional encouragement to achieve and more positive role models to emulate.

Question: What will be the most important indicators of progress toward achievement of racial justice in the future?

Answers:
- Reduced number of dropouts.
- More high school graduates.
- Better attendance statistics.
- Higher employment statistics; more students going on to college; more employment opportunities and more opportunities to advance.
- Reduction in income gap.
- Assignment of students to tracks and special education mirrors population percentages.
- Improved cooperation between schools and other groups.
- Training for upward mobility.

Question: How can the elementary, secondary and postsecondary schools; faith institutions; State and local governments, business/labor, community and social groups best cooperate to achieve the goals of racial justice?

Answers:

- Cooperation among various groups and organizations including schools, businesses, social agencies, community organizations, faith institutions, government, etc.
- Increased efforts to raise student self-image, provide role models, make education relevant and important, provide jobs (which are more than just entry level).
- Coordination between school and industry.
- Better support services for students.
- Mentor programs.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Following is a list of conference participants. The list, however, may not be complete as it represents only those people who picked up their individual packets at the registration table or who registered on the day of the Symposium at the information table. People who may have attended the conference but who did not pick up their individual packet are not listed in this roster of participants.

The listing is divided into six groups:

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B) Members of the Commissioner's Interfaith Education Advisory Council

C) Members of the Symposium Planning Sub-Committee

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